











# THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL 1973

INCLUDING THE  
*Proceedings of the British Numismatic Society  
for the year 1973*

EDITED BY  
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VOLUME XLIII

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MCMLXXIII



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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD  
BY VIVIAN RIDLER  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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# THE BOLTON PERCY HOARD OF 1967

H. E. PAGAN

THE hoard of ninth-century Northumbrian coins described in this paper was unearthed during the ploughing of a field by the banks of the river Wharfe at Bolton Percy in Yorkshire in the late autumn of 1967. Credit for the actual discovery belongs to two schoolboys named John and Malcolm Miles who noticed some of the coins lying on the surface and brought them to their teacher's attention. Subsequently Mr. G. F. Willmot, F.S.A., Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, York, conducted an examination of the site and unearthed the major portion of the hoard; part was contained in a pot and the rest was either scattered around the pot or lying in a separate, compact mass alongside it, the shape of which suggested that these coins had at one time been contained in a box. Mr. Willmot took charge of the coins that he had unearthed and transferred them to the Yorkshire Museum for cleaning and identification. At his invitation Mr. C. S. S. Lyon and the present writer were given the opportunity to study them and they represent the vast majority of the coins that are listed here.

The coinage of Northumbria in this period was a predominantly copper coinage—it had originated in the middle of the eighth century as a silver coinage and had become progressively debased—and after some consideration it was not thought appropriate to treat the hoard as one coming within the ambit of the law of treasure trove. For the coins recovered by Mr. Willmot this meant that their ownership remained vested in the owner of the land on which they had been found, and it was on the latter's instructions that they were eventually put up for sale in 201 lots in a coin sale at Sotheby's on 23 June 1971. The decision not to treat the hoard as treasure trove had the further consequence that the authorities had no *locus standi* as regards various coins which had not been recovered by Mr. Willmot, whether because removed from the site prior to his investigation or because only unearthed after it, and investigations into their number and whereabouts were not pressed. It was, however, possible for Mr. Lyon and the present writer to record a number of additional specimens which are included in the list of coins that follows, and there is reason to think that the total number of coins found was not greatly in excess of the 1,775 coins and fragments recorded here. It is pleasant to note that although the hoard has been dispersed in these circumstances a photographic record of the major portion of it was made by Sotheby & Co. prior to the sale and that it was possible for the Yorkshire Museum to make a number of purchases at the sale. A note of the Yorkshire Museum's acquisitions is appended to the detailed list of the hoard.

As to the site of the discovery, research by Mr. Willmot established that the field where the coins were found was probably the same field where a hoard of the same composition came to light in 1846.<sup>1</sup> The inference is that the coins found in 1967 were a further portion of that hoard or at any rate a sum of money buried on the same occasion. No exact reconstruction of the 1846 find is now possible but it contained not less than 2,000 coins and might well have been larger still. The burial by the banks of the river

<sup>1</sup> *Inventory* 364, wrongly listed as 'Ulleskelf'; cf. *BNJ* xxviii (1955–7), pp. 230–1.

Wharfe of some 4,000 Northumbrian coins of the mid ninth century must have had some special occasion on which one can only speculate. One clear fact is that the coins include a complete range of mid-ninth-century issues and that they must have been buried at the very end of this Northumbrian coinage. York fell to a Viking attack in 866 and it would be possible to associate the coins' burial with that attack or its aftermath.

## THE CONTENTS

The content of the hoard may be summarized as follows:

### KINGS OF NORTHUMBRIA

#### EANRED

Aldates 7; Badigils 1; Brother 32; Cunwulf 1; Daegberct 1; Eadvini 3; Erwinne 1; Folcnoth 6; Fordred 60; Gadutels 7; Monne 70; Odilo 2; 'Teveh' 1; Wihtred 10; Wulfred 10; illegible 1 213

#### EANRED OR ÆTHELRED FIRST REIGN

Fordred 1 1

#### ÆTHELRED FIRST REIGN

Alghere 43; Brother 16; 'Coenred' 1; Cunemund 3; Eanred 128; Erwinne 1; Fordred 88; Hunlaf 1; Leofthegn 75; Monne 154; Odilo 3; Wendelberht 26; Wihtred 20; Wulfred 19; Wulfsig 6; 'Edelher' 1; illegible 13 598

#### ÆTHELRED FIRST REIGN OR REDWULF

Alghere 1 1

#### REDWULF

Alghere 1; Brother 3; Coenred 6; Cuthberht 5; Fordred 8; Hwaetnoth 2; Monne 11; Wendelberht 1; 'Nerred' 1 38

#### ÆTHELRED SECOND REIGN

Eanwulf 5; Eardwulf 149; Fordred 1; Monne 8; Odilo 1 164

#### OSBERHT

Eanwulf 18; Ethelhelm 15; Monne 12; Winiberht 16; Wulfsixt 9; 'Anred Re' 1; blundered 4 75

#### DERIVATIVE REGAL

397

#### UNCERTAIN REGAL

13

### ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK

#### EANBALD

Cunwulf 1; Eadwulf 2 3

#### WIGMUND

Coenred 77; Ethelhelm 30; Ethelweard 64; Hunlaf 43 214

#### WULFHRE

Wulfred 15 15

### NOT IDENTIFIED AND FRAGMENTS

43

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1775

The coins or fragments of coins listed in summary form here and in greater detail later in this paper are of the Northumbrian kings Eanred, Æthelred, Redwulf, and Osberht; of issues derivative from or imitative of the coins of those kings; and of Eanbald, Wigmund, and Wulfhere, contemporary archbishops of York. Some of the coins are not identifiable with precision and others have been dispersed without being recorded but there is no reason to think that there are, among these, coins which would widen the spectrum of issues indicated. In the absence from it of any coins of Southumbrian origin the hoard follows the pattern of previously recorded hoards of Northumbrian coins of this period, and in ending with coins of Osberht and of Archbishop Wulfhere and parallel derivative coins it resembles hoards previously found at Ripon, Paisley, Kirkoswald, York, and Talnotrie (in Kirkcudbrightshire) and differs only from the great Hexham hoard of 1833, which was deposited when Æthelred was king of Northumbria and has an archiepiscopal content ending with coins of Archbishop Wigmund.

It is thus a hoard of a character familiar enough to the numismatist quite apart from the fact that it is likely merely to be a portion of a hoard previously recorded, and its importance is not that it offers fresh information or poses new problems but that it provides an opportunity to look again and with attention at a known range of material. It is probable that more is known of the ninth-century coinage of Northumbria from a point in the reign of Eanred to the date when Osberht's coinage ceases than of any coinage produced on this scale anywhere in Europe at that time, and that allows a more precise account of its constituent parts than is normally practicable. The usefulness of this for research purposes is still more potential than actual, for the coinage awaits the coin-by-coin scrutiny that will determine the order of die-use and allow a numbering of its dies that would be complete and chronological, but it has proved possible to list the Bolton Percy coins by moneyer and die and in groups suggested by die-links or by the presence of similar coins in, or absence of similar coins from, the Hexham hoard, and this is both immediately informative and essential raw material for future study. The more important insights the hoard provides are discussed below.

The two tables that follow are intended to illustrate the hoard's numerical and chronological structure. The first sets out the division of the hoard between regal, derivative regal and archiepiscopal issues.

TABLE 1  
*Division of coins between issuers*

<i>Kings</i>	<i>Per cent total coins</i>
Eanred	12.0
Æthelred (First Reign)	33.7
Redwulf	2.1
Æthelred (Second Reign)	9.2
Osberht	4.2
	<hr/> 61.2



<i>Derivative regal</i>	22.4
<i>Archbishops</i>	
Eanbald	0.2
Wigmund	12.0
Wulfhere	0.8
	<hr/>
	13.0
<i>Not precisely identified or not identified</i>	3.2

The second table divides the coins of kings and archbishops into three chronological groups—Group A comprising early coins of Eanred and coins of Archbishop Eanbald, Group B later coins of Eanred, coins of Æthelred's first reign, coins of Redwulf and coins of Archbishop Wigmund, and Group C coins of Æthelred's second reign, of Osberht and of Archbishop Wulfhere—and associates with Groups A and B and with Group C the contemporary derivative pieces.

TABLE 2  
*Content of hoard by chronological group and status*

	<i>Number of coins</i>		<i>Per cent total coins</i>	
	<i>Regal/archiepiscopal</i>	<i>Derivative</i>	<i>Regal/archiepiscopal</i>	<i>Derivative</i>
Period A	8	{	0.5	} 0.9
Period B	1060		59.7	
Period C	254		14.3	
Not classified	56		3.2	21.4

It is apparent that different factors account for the derivative pieces that parallel Groups A and B of the regal and archiepiscopal coins and for those that parallel Group C of the same. The first are insignificant numerically and can be interpreted as the mint freaks and contemporary forgeries that are the normal concomitants of a coin issue in the Anglo-Saxon period; the second are more numerous than the regal and archiepiscopal coins associated with them and will require special explanation.

A third table displays two possible schemes of dating for the kings of Northumbria and archbishops of York involved. That in the left-hand column is the traditional one, which seems to the present writer wrong but has documentary authority. The other is a substitute scheme based on arguments advanced in a previous volume of this *Journal*.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 3  
*Dating of kings and archbishops*

	A	B
<i>Kings</i>		
Eanred	810–840 or 841	c. 830 (or earlier)–c. 854
Æthelred	(First Reign)	
	840 or 841–844	c. 854–c. 858

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Pagan, 'Northumbrian Numismatic Chronology in the Ninth Century', *BNJ* xxxviii (1969), pp. 1–15.

Redwulf	844	c. 858
Æthelred	(Second Reign) 844–848 or 849	c. 858–c. 862
Osberht	848 or 849–866/867	c. 862–866/867
<i>Archbishops</i>		
Eanbald	796–uncertain date	796–c. 840 (or later)
Wigmund	837–854	c. 848 (or earlier)–c. 858 (or later)
Wulfhere	854–900 (?)	c. 865 (or earlier)–900 (?)

The Bolton Percy hoard supplies no information that directly assists in dating these issuers—it contains no non-Northumbrian coins that would offer a cross-bearing—and discussion here of their absolute dates would be inapposite. Bolton Percy evidence is, however, relevant when considering the scheme on the right. The dates suggested there are dates that adapt the chronological framework of the scheme on the left in the light of the apparent durations of the coinages of the issuers concerned—the adaptation is justifiable on a variety of grounds set out in the *Journal* volume cited—and the resulting scheme manages the difficult feat of throwing over all the pre-867 dates while retaining three crucial reign lengths which have seemed substantiated by the amount of coinage struck in those reigns. The view has been that a chronological relationship of  $4\frac{1}{2}:4$  for the two reigns of Æthelred and the intervening reign of Redwulf is compatible with, and to some extent borne out by, the relative number of coins known for each reign. A  $4\frac{1}{2}$  relationship between the coinage of the first reign of Æthelred and the coinage of Redwulf is not immediately suggested by the 598:38 Æthelred (First Reign)/Redwulf ratio among the Bolton Percy coins, but it is reached in the 158:17 ratio for obverse dies of each reign in the hoard and calculation along these lines is evidently meaningful.<sup>1</sup> What Bolton Percy shows decisively is that an extension of such calculation to take in Æthelred's second reign is impracticable, for the volume of coinage from the second reign fails to match that from the first; the coinage was differently organized from that of the first reign; and it also emerges (as explained below) that at a point in the second reign the official coinage was interrupted and may for a time have ceased altogether.

### THE COINS

The following notes draw attention to special features of interest among the coins of each reign or other grouping.

#### *Eanred*

The hoard contained 213 coins identifiable as of this reign. Only five of these carried the names of moneyers whose production is associated with the first phase of Eanred's coinage,<sup>2</sup> and of the five only one, that with the name of Cunwulf (coin 41), is of undoubted first-phase character. That of Daegberct (coin 42) and those of Eadvini (coins

<sup>1</sup> The Æthelred (First Reign)/Redwulf ratio among the coins from the Hexham hoard illustrated for Adamson's *Archaeologia* paper on the hoard was 384:37. That figure no doubt over-represents the Redwulf element as Adamson would have illustrated a smaller proportion of the common coins of Æthelred. It may also be observed that the calculation

based on obverse dies is misleading to the extent that on a king's accession a larger number of dies would have been cut than at ordinary times.

<sup>2</sup> C. S. S. Lyon, 'A Reappraisal of the Sceatta and Styca Coinage of Northumbria', *BNJ* xxviii (1955–7), pp. 227–42, especially p. 233.

43–5) are not of distinctive first-phase character and appear to be of a silver content inferior to coins of the first phase generally. All four may occupy an intermediate position between first-phase coins and those of the latter part of the reign. The same may be true of ten coins of the moneyer Monne (coins 120–9); the bulk of Monne's production belongs late in the reign, but these appear to be of better metal than others of Monne's coins and are distinguished from them by a feature of lettering, Monne being rendered *MONNE* instead of the usual *MOINE*.

The remainder of the coins form a reasonably compact group and die-linkage with the coinage of Æthelred shows that their issue extends down to the end of Eanred's reign. Twelve names are found on their reverses. Of these 'Teveh' (coin 192) is not a plausible Anglo-Saxon name and has not been recorded except on this single reverse die. The die's position in a chain of linkage with dies carrying the names Erwinne, Monne, and Wihtrud does not give ground for belief in 'Teveh's independent existence and the likelihood is that 'Teveh' is a meaningless collection of letters intended to fill reverse space. The die with the name Erwinne in the same chain (represented by coin 46) is likewise the only evidence for the existence of its apparent moneyer and Mr. Lyon suggested nearly twenty years ago that it might be a blundered rendering of Wihtrud;<sup>1</sup> Erwinne is, however, just possible as an Anglo-Saxon personal name and he has been listed here as a separate moneyer.

The other ten names are evidently those of distinct moneyers. This is demonstrated as much by differences in the coins' types and style as by their different reverse inscriptions. Coins of the moneyer Brother carry a range of cross, pellet, and circle designs and customarily render the king's name *EANRED*. Coins of Fordred, have, with one exception, cross designs only and customarily render the king's name *EĀRED*; an exception with the reading *EAHRED* (coin 74) is demonstrated by a die-link to have been produced from an obverse die properly of Brother. Coins of Wulfred always have cross designs and, with one exception, render the king's name *EĀRED*; the exception (coin 212) proves to stem from the use with a Wulfred reverse die of an obverse die properly of Monne. Coins of Gadutels divide into those struck from four obverse dies that are properly his (coins 116–19) and coins struck from an obverse die of Fordred (coin 113) and from an obverse die used with Brother and Folcnoth reverses and of normal Brother style (coins 114–15). Coins of Monne, other than the few early pieces already distinguished, are normally struck from obverse dies on which the king's name is *EANRED*.

Such evidence is sufficient to show that in this phase of the coinage the intention was that coins should be struck from dies, both obverse and reverse, that were individual to particular moneyers. It is not sufficient to show that moneyers cut their own dies or were supplied by separate die-cutters. Indeed, the differentiation shown in obverse dies' designs and inscriptions is of a kind that implies some common directing hand. Rendering Eanred consistently as *EĀRED* on obverse dies of Fordred would only have been a worthwhile occupation if obverse dies of Monne would consistently carry *EANRED*. It is also apparent that there was in fact some interchange of dies. Some of this may have been due to the transference of dies from moneyer to moneyer following a moneyer's decease or a new moneyer's appointment; Aldates, Badigils, Folcnoth, and Gadutels did not coin for Æthelred and may be assumed to have ceased coining before Eanred's

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 239 (at top).



death, while Odilo and Wihtrud, moneyers both under Eanred and under Æthelred, have a production for Eanred so exiguous that they cannot have been active until very late in his reign. Some of the interchange may have been casual; the Brother/Fordred interchange that produced coin 74 can be instanced—a case of confusion in the workshop between dies destined for moneyers with similar-looking names? In one case the interchange may not be real; the Monne/Wulfred linkage involves the use of a Monne obverse die with a Wulfred reverse die that bears no resemblance to the general run of Wulfred reverses, and it is at least possible that Wulfred was not a moneyer at the time that the reverse die was cut.<sup>1</sup>

### *Æthelred First Reign*

The hoard contained 598 coins of this period, of which all but thirteen are associable with a particular moneyer. Of Eanred's moneyers Brother, Erwinne (if a moneyer), Fordred, Monne, Odilo, Wihtrud and Wulfred coined for Æthelred in his first reign. All are represented in the hoard. Except in the case of Wulfred—there is no obvious continuity between his production for each king and the Monne/Wulfred link under Eanred may be deceptive—the change in king had no apparent effect on moneyers' operations and numerous coins evidence Eanred-Æthelred die-links or part of one (coins 46, 174, 189, 202, 406, 579–80, 583–4).

New names found on Æthelred's coins are Alghere, Coenred, Cunemund, Eanred, Hunlaf, Leofthegn, Wendelberht, Wulfsig, and 'Edelher'. Distinctions have to be made. Five of the names are those of substantive moneyers—Alghere, Cunemund, Eanred, Leofthegn, and Wendelberht. Hunlaf was an archiepiscopal moneyer and is represented for Æthelred in the hoard by a single coin (coin 495) which might be a freak; the reverse die is not, however, one known to have been used by Hunlaf with an archiepiscopal obverse and it may be that it was intended for use in the regal series only. Hunlaf may provisionally be accepted as a regal moneyer for some small part of the reign.

With Coenred the position is different. He, like Hunlaf, was an archiepiscopal moneyer. The single Æthelred coin in his name (coin 274) is struck from an obverse die which is also found with reverses carrying the names of no fewer than six other moneyers (Cunemund, Fordred, Leofthegn, Monne, Odilo, Wulfred). There is no parallel for cross-linkage between moneyers on this scale and as the reverse dies exhibit common peculiarities and are not tightly linked with the normal dies used by these moneyers, the likely explanation for them is that at a particular moment an engraver cut the dies as a group and that coins were struck from them without regard for their ostensible moneyers. That means that the existence of coins with Æthelred obverse and this Coenred reverse need not imply that Coenred was actually a regal moneyer.

The moneyer 'Edelher' (= ?Ethelhere) is evidenced by one coin in the hoard struck from an obverse die also used to produce coins of the moneyers Eanred and Fordred and appropriate to the latter moneyer. There may or may not have been a moneyer of that name and his claim to existence is on a par with that of Erwinne.

Of the moneyers who worked both for Eanred and for Æthelred Brother, Fordred, Monne, and Odilo coined under Redwulf and may be assumed to have been operating throughout Æthelred's reign. Alghere, Eanred, and Wendelberht also coined for

<sup>1</sup> Note the connection between these moneyers in the following reign.

Redwulf. That leaves of Æthelred's substantive moneyers one important moneyer, Leofthehn, and three lesser moneyers, Cunemund, Wihtred, and Wulfred, who do not recur under Redwulf. Wihtred's coins are struck from a small number of dies which are linked internally and linked with coins of the same moneyer for Eanred, and he must have disappeared early in the reign. The production of Cunemund is exiguous and that of Wulfred not large and linked in some way to that of Monne (a number of obverse die-links exist between their coins). The production of Leofthehn is much more extensive but it is not easy to determine at what point in the coinage it started and ceased; Leofthehn's coins include a number of distinctive pieces not paralleled elsewhere for style and type but also include coins of much the same character as, and die-linked with, coins of other moneyers.

What is apparent from the coins of this reign as a whole is that while distinction between the dies of coins of different moneyers is again found both in use and style (in the case of the style of some dies cut for Leofthehn in an aggravated form), it was not as uniformly maintained. Some die-sharing can be explained as the result of special circumstances, e.g. it is not impossible that obverse dies cut for Wihtred might have been reused by other moneyers after his disappearance. But the fact that of the eight obverse dies represented in the hoard with reverses of Brother—a moneyer who appears to have coined throughout the reign—six are known to have been used with reverses with the names of other moneyers, does point to a different situation from that obtaining under Eanred. The same changed situation evidenced in the use of dies can be traced in their style; it is for example, evident that towards the end of the reign stylistic distinction between dies intended for different moneyers was actually abandoned, for obverse dies of Æthelred that link with obverse dies of Redwulf through shared reverses show no variation relatable to the moneyers' names on those reverses.

There is at the same time the evidence of Leofthehn's coins to suggest that at some point in the reign dies for Leofthehn anyway were cut by quite a different hand from those cut for his colleagues, and evidence in the production of a number of moneyers (Alghere, Eanred, Fordred, Monne) of some interrelated stylistic variation similar to that observed under Eanred. The indications are that the system that operated under Eanred was initially maintained and then broke down. If Leofthehn's distinctive dies are the earliest he used, which seems on the whole likely, he would on becoming a moneyer have stood outside any joint arrangements for die-cutting that the other moneyers had made and later have come in with them for a phase of coinage in which moneyers' individuality at least as regards the supply to them of obverse dies ceased. In this phase (which continued under Redwulf) moneyers' individuality was maintained by the continued appearance of their names on the coins' reverses, but if they were now receiving undifferentiated obverses failure to observe strict formalities in these obverses' use as between one moneyer and a colleague is readily explicable and the possibility that reverses too might be wrongly used is enhanced. The die-links that occur in the latter part of this reign and under Redwulf are best seen in this light.

### *Redwulf*

The hoard contained thirty-eight coins certainly of Redwulf by the moneyers Alghere, Brother, Coenred, Cuthberht, Fordred, Hwaetnoth, Wendelberht, and 'Nerred'.

The last name, evidenced by a single die, echoes that of Herred (or Herreth), a prolific moneyer in the first phase of the coinage of the reign of Eanred, and it may well be that the die is an echo alone and no 'Nerred' is to be reckoned as a Redwulf moneyer. Alghere, Brother, Coenred, Fordred, and Wendelberht continue from Æthelred (or, in Coenred's case, Archbishop Wigmund), and Cuthberht and Hwaetnoth are new. Continuity in die-use with Æthelred's reign is amply evidenced (coins 814, 829–34, 836, 839–41, 844–50). Indeed where Fordred and Monne are concerned it is notable that while they are recorded in the hoard as using, respectively, five and six Redwulf obverses all but one of Fordred's reverses and all but two of Monne's reverses had been in use under Æthelred, and the apparent number of new reverses may still have to be diminished by future discoveries. Everything points to Redwulf's coinage as having been of the briefest duration.

### *Æthelred Second Reign*

To this reign have been assigned 164 coins. They have been classified into two groups of which the second is evidently later than the first.

The first group, comprising coins by the moneyers Eardwulf, Fordred, and Odilo, is to all appearances tied to the beginning of the reign by the continuity with previous reigns represented by Fordred and Odilo and in practice so by the fact that a number of the coins are from the same dies as coins that occur in the Hexham hoard, which is known to have been deposited early in Æthelred's second reign; the coins involved have been listed first among those in the first group (coins 852–70, with coins 871–2 listed next because a coin from the same obverse die in the Ashmolean Museum lies on a ticket associating it with Hexham, but the early date of 871–2 is not firmly established). It will be noticed that the dies that carry the names Fordred and Odilo are not included among the dies also recorded in the Hexham hoard and so possibly do not after all reflect Æthelred Second Reign/Redwulf continuity. As the obverse die found with the Fordred and Odilo reverses is also found with an Eardwulf reverse it is tempting to think that Eardwulf is the substantive moneyer and that Fordred and Odilo reverses, and Wulfred reverses that have also been recorded, are not to be taken at face value. It is apparent at all events that Eardwulf was effectively the only moneyer in this phase of the coinage.

The coins of Eardwulf assigned to this first group are of remarkably consistent appearance and style. It has been argued elsewhere by the present writer that the continuance some way after the date when the Hexham hoard was deposited of an issue of Second Reign coins of the same style of those from Hexham says something for the stability of Æthelred's government at that period.<sup>1</sup>

What has not as yet been worked out is the subsequent succession of events. In sorting the coins in the hoard it was readily possible to segregate as being of late date in the second reign a group of coins with the names of the moneyers Eanwulf and Monne which die-linked with coins of those moneyers for Æthelred's successor Osberht, and to associate with them a few coins of Eardwulf. Internal die-links between these coins, paralleled by die-links under Osberht, suggested that the relationship between Eanwulf

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Pagan, 'Anglo-Saxon Coins Found at Hexham', Appendix IV in D. P. Kirby (ed.), *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1974.

and Monne was a close one and that it would be appropriate to list the coins in a group rather than to separate them by moneyer. That achieved, the next task was to find coins that neither belonged to the stylistically consistent first group nor to the Osberht-related second group and which might constitute an intermediate issue. As it happens, there were in the hoard a large number of other coins which carried Æthelred's name on their obverse and that of Eardwulf in some form on their reverse and which were also of demonstrably post-Hexham date. It was, however, possible to establish that coins of this kind were not linked in any meaningful way—there was some reuse of old first-group dies and the occasional other stray linkage—either with the first group or with the second group. More important, when die-linkages involving such coins were pursued, dies with the names of Æthelred and Eardwulf proved to be indissolubly related to dies with the names in a blundered form and dies bearing legends either misleading, e.g. in carrying names of long-disappeared moneyers such as Eanred's first-phase moneyer Eadvini, or meaningless. The linkages can be traced in the detailed list of the hoard and a future study of the coinage should indicate their exact chronological significance. It is the present writer's view that the coins do not constitute a regular issue and that there is no substantive issue in Æthelred's name to fill the interval between the Eardwulf coins of the style known from the Hexham hoard and the late group connected with coins of Osberht. Many of the coins in the names of Æthelred and Eardwulf not belonging to the two groups may belong to the interval between them (although they do not seem to follow immediately on those of the first group), but they do not represent an official issue and there are coins with the names of Æthelred and Eardwulf that must surely belong after the late second-reign coins and after those of Osberht. Such Æthelred/Eardwulf coins not associable with the two regular groups have therefore been separated from the regal issues proper and listed with other coins with less plausible legends as 'Coins derivative of regal series'.

### *Osberht*

The earliest of Osberht's coins are linked by shared dies with those of Æthelred's second reign and are by the moneyers Eanwulf and Monne. Eanwulf and Monne are again closely related and of eight obverse dies represented in the hoard four are found with reverses of both moneyers. One obverse die found with an Eanwulf reverse is also found with a reverse reading  $\times$  ANRED RE, a garbled rendering of EANRED REX (coin 1046).

The remaining coins of Osberht, by the three moneyers Ethelhelm, Winiberht, and Wulfsixt, have no obvious links with the preceding group or with coins of Æthelred's second reign, and are themselves diverse. In contrast to the issues immediately preceding them, the coins show a consistent variation in style and legend as between one moneyer and the next and although those of Ethelhelm and those of Wulfsixt link to a variety of derivative issues the conclusion that for a brief period an attempt was made to distinguish the production of separate moneyers by style as under Eanred seems a likely one. It can, however, only have been a very short-lived experiment. None of the three moneyers is represented in the hoard by the number of coins that would reflect a substantial issue and a study of the coins in Wulfsixt's name and of their linkage indicates that the control by authority of Wulfsixt's production slackened almost simultaneously



with being applied. With Wulfsixt for the first time in the Northumbrian regal series a die with the king's name on it appears in combinations which point to its use as a reverse die while dies with Wulfsixt's name were used as obverse dies; and a pattern of linkage with dies carrying garbled and derivative inscriptions emerges that is more definite than any yet noted, Wulfsixt dies linking directly or at one remove with dies essaying the names of King Æthelred and of the moneyers Eardwulf, Ethelweard, Ethelhelm, and Wulfred.

### *Coins derivative of regal series*

Grouped together here are nearly 400 coins spanning a period that extends from the end of the reign of Eanred to a date that appears subsequent to that of the latest coins in the name of Osberht. A glance at the irregularities in inscription and type revealed in their listing makes it apparent in most cases why they have been separated from the regular regal series and where this is not apparent the explanation lies in patterns of die-linkage in which they are involved. A few special cases are commented on at the end of this section of the hoard list.

A comparison with the contents of the Hexham hoard has made it possible to segregate a small number of derivative coins that must have been struck by an early date in Æthelred's second reign. The remainder have been listed in one long catalogue that begins with those closest to the regular series and proceeds to those with more garbled legends and of inferior workmanship; this list reflects chronology to the extent that coins which are evidently derivative of coins of Æthelred's second reign are listed first, but the position in it of any particular coin is of no special importance and the last thirty coins in it have been placed there not so much because they are of late date but because they were not readily classifiable.

As regards the dating of the post-Hexham derivative coins, such linkage between regular and derivative coins as exists suggests that the striking of derivative coins in bulk was under way before the end of Æthelred's second reign and that the latest of them are of later date than the latest coins of Osberht. Beyond that, one can infer from the fact that a large number are in the names of Æthelred and Eardwulf, a few only in the names of Æthelred and Eanwulf and Monne, and none from a derivative obverse die in the name of Osberht, that a measurable part of the derivative coins must precede the regular coins struck by Eanwulf and Monne at the end of Æthelred's reign and the beginning of that of Osberht. Since there is an hiatus in Æthelred's second-reign coinage in the interval between the coins of Hexham style and the Eanwulf and Monne coins the likely place for many of the derivative coins would seem to be just there and the explanation for them to be that at this juncture in the second reign there was a breakdown in the control exercised on the coinage by the authorities; the derivative coins would on this view be the product of private initiative during a period of political and perhaps social upheaval which made the name of a king and of moneyers in a literate form an unnecessary adjunct to the coinage.

This is not a complete explanation for the derivatives as many are self-evidently of a later date than Æthelred's second reign, whether because of die-links, legends, flan dimensions, or weight (coins with irregular flans and of reduced weight proliferate towards the end of the series). Rather than assign all the remaining coins to a similar



period or periods of upheaval later on—between the Eanwulf and Monne coins of Osberht and the coins of Osberht by other moneyers, or else at the very end of Osberht's coinage—it might be preferable to conclude that the Eanwulf–Monne coinage for Æthelred and Osberht and the Ethelhelm–Winiberht–Wulfsixt coinage for Osberht were not as exclusive of other coinages as earlier regal issues had been and that those who had struck coins during the hiatus in Æthelred's regular second-reign coinage might have continued in the same vein after an official coinage had recommenced. It is pertinent to note the historical evidence that Osberht's rule in Northumbria was challenged by a rival Aella, and although Aella's name certainly does not appear on any coin in the hoard or on any coin so far recorded the fact that the latest of the derivative coins carry inscriptions echoing almost any name except that of Osberht may not be irrelevant.

### *Eanbald*

The coins are parallel in date to those of the first phase of Eanred's coinage.

### *Wigmund*

The coins are by the four moneyers Coenred, Ethelhelm, Ethelweard and Hunlaf and the virtual absence of linkage between moneyers and between these coins and those of the regal series makes it difficult to arrange them correctly. The coins evidently date from the latter years of Eanred and from Æthelred's first reign and some sort of dating *terminus* is provided by the appearance of Coenred as a regal moneyer under Redwulf (for an earlier occurrence of Coenred under Æthelred see above, p. 7).

### *Wulfhere*

There were fifteen coins of this archbishop in the hoard, all of the moneyer Wulfred. Wulfhere's coinage had not commenced at the time of the Hexham hoard's deposit—it contained none of his issues—and the conclusion from an Osberht–Wulfhere die-link (coins 1086–9) is that Wulfhere's coinage belongs to the end of the ninth-century Northumbrian series.

I have to express my thanks to Mr. G. F. Willmot, F.S.A., who most kindly made the hoard available to me for study, as well as allowing me to work through a substantial part of the Yorkshire Museum's existing collection of ninth-century coins of Northumbria; and to Mr. C. S. S. Lyon who generously forwent his own prior claims to publishing the hoard, made available to me his own materials on the coinage (I have particularly relied on these in identifying coins of Æthelred's two reigns and their derivatives) and has discussed with me many of the problems which the series presents.

## LIST OF THE COINS

In the list that follows the coins are grouped by reign or other defined period and in the alphabetical order of their moneyers' names except where specially indicated. The number of coins involved and the desirability of giving as clear a picture as possible of

the die-structure of the coinage has suggested a method of listing which will be unfamiliar but is essentially a simple one and well adapted to this particular coinage.

At the start of the coins of any one moneyer the moneyer's name is given on the left, prefixed by the word 'Moneyer' to avoid any confusion with that of a king. Beneath it a left-hand column lists the obverse dies and a right-hand column the reverse dies of the coins of that particular moneyer of the reign or period in question. The types and legends of the dies are recorded as accurately as possible,<sup>1</sup> and each die is numbered from 1 upwards. Below these columns comes a record of the combinations in which these dies are used which serves also as a running list of the coins in the hoard. For the moneyer Aldates of Eanred the record is as follows: 1/1 = 1, 1/2 = 2, 1/3 = 3, 4, 2/3 = 5-7. That indicates that coin 1 in the hoard is struck from obverse 1 and reverse 1 of Aldates; coin 2 struck from obverse 1 and reverse 2 of Aldates; coins 3 and 4 struck from obverse 1 and reverse 3 of Aldates; and coins 5 to 7 struck from obverse 2 and reverse 3 of Aldates. The next coin in the hoard is one of the moneyer Badigils and the record for it is 1/1 = 8, that is, it is coin 8 in the hoard and is struck from obverse 1 and reverse 1 of Badigils. Die-linkage outside the production of the particular moneyer (if any has been traced) is noted in the final part of the section of the list devoted to that moneyer, in the form 'Obverse 1 also used by Fordred' where the use of that obverse with the reverse of another moneyer has been noted but is not evidenced in the hoard, and in the form 'Obverse 1 also used by Fordred (coins 93, 94 above)' where the link is evidenced in the hoard.

It should also be noted that all readings of legends prefixed with an asterisk are readings that are anti-clockwise, i.e. readings that would be retrograde if read clockwise. Where there is no asterisk the reading is always clockwise.

## KINGS OF NORTHUMBRIA

## EANRED

*Moneyer Aldates*

1. +EÆURED RE	Cross	1. +ÆUDALÆƷ	Cross
2. +EÆURED REX	Cross	2. +ÆUDALÆƷ	Cross
		3. +ÆUD:ÆLÆƷ	Cross

1/1 = 1, 1/2 = 2, 1/3 = 3, 4, 2/3 = 5-7

Obverse 1 also used by Fordred.

*Moneyer Badigils*

1. *+EVIIBED BE	Cross	1. *+ÐVIDIGIƷ	Cross
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1/1 = 8

*Moneyer Brother*

1. +EÆNRED RE	Cross	1. +BRODR	⬤
2. +EAHRED REX	Pellet	2. +BRODR	⬤
3. +EANRED REX	Cross	3. +BRODR	Pellet
4. +EAHRED REX	Pellet	4. +BRODR	Pellet

<sup>1</sup> Some simplification of types has been thought appropriate, e.g. circles of pellets have throughout been indexed with seven pellets although the actual number differs widely. In inscriptions round-backed L's have

been used to represent round-backed T's (e.g. the T in Gadutels) and some letter forms only found rarely have been represented by the closest equivalent.

5. +EANRED REX	○	5. +BROER	Pellet
6. +EANRED REX	Cross	6. +BRODR	⊗
7. +EΛVRD REX	⊗	7. +BRODR	⊕
8. *+EVNRED BEX	⊗	8. +BRODR	⊗
9. +EANRED REX	Cross	9. +BRODR	⊕
10. +EANRED REX	Cross	10. +BRODR	⊗
11. +EVNRED REX	Cross	11. +BRODR	○
12. +EAHRED R	Cross	12. +BRODR	Pellet
		13. +BRODR	○
		14. +BRODR	Cross
		15. +BRODR	⊗
		16. +BRODR	⊗
		17. +BRODR	⊗
		18. +BRODR	Cross
		19. +BRODR	⊗
		20. *+BB•ODB	Cross
		21. *+BBODEB	Cross
		22. +BRODER	Cross
		23. +BRODER	Cross
		24. +BRODR	Cross

1/1 = 9, 2/2 = 10, 2/3 = 11, 3/4 = 12, 4/4 = 13, 4/5 = 14, 4/6 = 15, 5/7 = 16, 17, 5/8 = 18, 5/unclassified (+BRODR Pellet ?) = 19, 5/9 = 20, 6/7 = 21, 7/10 = 22, 7/11 = 23, 7/12 = 24, 8/13 = 25, 9/13 = 26, 9/14 = 27, 28, 9/15 = 29, 9/16 = 30, 31, 9/17 = 32, 9/18 = 33, 9/19 = 34, 9/unclassified (+BRODR ⊗) = 35, 10/20 = 36, 10/21 = 37, 11/22 = 38, 11/23 = 39, 12/24 = 40

Obverse 1 also used by Fordred.

Obverse 3 also used by Gadutels (coins 114, 115 below) and by Folcnoth.

#### *Moneyer Cunwulf*

1. EVNRED R	Pellet	1. CΨVVNFF	Pellet
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1/1 = 41

#### *Moneyer Daegberct*

1. +EANRED REX	Cross	1. +DAEGBERCT	Cross
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1/1 = 42

#### *Moneyer Eadvini*

1. +EANRED REX	Cross	1. +EADVINI	Cross
2. +ERDERNAEX	Cross	2. +EADVINI	Cross
3. +ERDERNAEX	Cross	3. +EADVINI	Cross

1/1 = 43, 2/2 = 44, 3/3 = 45

#### *Moneyer Erwinne*

1. +ERPINNE	⊗
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Unclassified (Eanred die but type and legend uncertain)/1 = 46.

Reverse 1 also found with obverse dies of Æthelred (coin 406 below) and of Abp. Wigmund.

Eanred obverse die normally found with Reverse 1 also used by Monne (coins 185–8 below), 'Teveh' (coin 192 below), and Wihtrud (coins 193–202 below).

*Moneyer Folcnoth*

1. \*+EVNIBED BEX Cross
2. \*+EVNIREB BEX Cross
3. +EANRED REX ○

1. \*+EOΓCIIOD.W. Cross
2. \*+EOΓCIIOD W Cross
3. \*+EOΓCIIOD.W. Cross

1/1 = 47, 48, 1/2 = 49, 50, 2/2 = 51, 3/3 = 52

*Moneyer Fordred*

1. +EAIRED REX Cross
2. +EAIRED REX Cross
3. +EAIRED REX Cross
4. +ERANRED EX Cross
5. \*+EYVIBED EX Cross
6. +EAIRED REX Cross
7. +EAIRED REX ○
8. +ERDERNÆ Cross
9. +EAHRED REX Cross
10. +EAIRED REX Cross
11. +EAIRED REX Cross
12. +EAIRED REX Cross
13. +EAIRED REX Cross
14. +EAIRED REX Cross
15. +EAIRED REX Cross
16. +EAIRED REX Cross
17. +EAIRED REX Cross
18. +EAIRED REX Cross
19. +ERDERNÆ Cross
20. \*+EYVIBED BEX Cross
21. +EAIRED REX Cross

1. +FORDRED Cross
2. +FORDRED Cross
3. +FORDRE Cross
4. +FORDRED ∴
5. +FORDRED Cross
6. +EORDRED Cross
7. +FORDRED Cross
8. +FORDRED Cross
9. +FORDRED Cross
10. +ORDRED Cross
11. +FORDRED Cross
12. +FORDRED Cross
13. +FORDRED Cross
14. +FORDRED Cross
15. \*+EYVIBED Cross
16. +FORDRED Cross
17. +FORDRED Cross
18. +FORDRED Cross
19. +FORDRED· Cross
20. +FORDRED· †
21. +FORDRED Cross
22. +FORDRED Cross
23. +FORDRED Cross
24. +FORDRED Cross
25. +FORDRED Cross
26. +FORDRED· Cross
27. +FORDRED Cross
28. +FORDRED Cross
29. +FORDRED Cross
30. +FORDRED Cross
31. +EORDRED Cross
32. \*+EYVIBED Cross
33. +FORDRED Cross
34. +FORDRED Cross
35. +FORDRED Cross
36. +FORDRED Cross
37. +FORDRED Cross
38. +FORDRED Cross
39. +FORDRED Cross
40. +FORDRED Cross
41. +FORDRED Cross
42. +FORDRED Cross
43. +FORDRED Cross
44. +FORDRED Cross

1/1 = 53, 54, 2/2 = 55, 3/3 = 56, 4/4 = 57, 4/5 = 58, 4/6 = 59, 4/7 = 60, 5/8 = 61-3, 5/9 = 64, 65, 5/10 = 66, 5/11 = 67, 5/12 = 68, 6/13 = 69, 7/14 = 70, 8/15 = 71, 8/3 = 72, 8/16 = 73, 9/17 = 74,



10/18 = 75, 11/19 = 76, 11/20 = 77, 11/21 = 78, 79, 11/22 = 80, 11/23 = 81, 82, 12/23 = 83, 84, 12/24 = 85, 12/25 = 86, 12/26 = 87, 12/19 = 88, 13/27 = 89, 13/28 = 90, 13/29 = 91, 92, 14/30 = 93, 14/31 = 94, 15/32 = 95, 15/33 = 96, 16/34 = 97, 16/35 = 98, 16/36 = 99, 17/36 = 100, 101, 18/37 = 102, 18/38 = 103, 19/38 = 104, 19/39 = 105, 19/40 = 106, 19/41 = 107, 20/42 = 108, 20/43 = 109, 21/44 = 110, 111, unclassified (+EANRED REX Cross)/unclassified (+FORDRED Cross) = 112

Obverse 9 also used by Brother.

Obverse 14 also used by Gadutels (coin 113 below) and by Odilo.

#### *Moneyer Gadutels*

1. +EAVRED REX	Cross	1. +GADVLEI2	Cross
2. +EANRED REX	Cross	2. +GADVLE2S	Cross
3. +EAVRED RE	Cross	3. +GADVLEI2	Cross
4. +EAVRED	Cross	4. +GADVLEI2	Cross
5. +EAVRED	Cross	5. +GADVLEI2	Cross
6. +EAVRED RE	Cross	6. +GADVLEI2	Cross

1/1 = 113, 2/2 = 114, 2/unclassified (+G ... Cross) = 115, 3/3 = 116, 4/4 = 117, 5/5 = 118, 6/6 = 119

Obverse 1 also used by Fordred (coins 93, 94 above).

Obverse 2 also used by Brother (coin 12 above) and by Folcnoth.

#### *Moneyer Monne*

1. +EANRED REX	Cross	1. +MONNE	Cross
2. +EANRED REX	✠	2. +MONNE	Cross
3. +EANRED REX	✠	3. +M·ON·NE·	Cross
4. +EANRED REX	Cross	4. +MONNE	Cross
5. +EANRED REX	✠	5. +·MO·N·NE	Cross
6. +EANRED RE	Cross	6. +MONNE	Cross
7. +EANRED RE	Cross	7. +MONNE	Cross
8. +EANRED REX	Cross	8. +MO·INE	Cross
9. +EANRED REX	Cross	9. +M·O·INE	○
10. +EVNRED REX	○	10. +MOINE	Cross
11. +EANRED RE:+	Cross	11. +MOINE	Cross
12. +EAVRED REX	○	12. +MOINE	○
13. +EANRED REX	Cross	13. +MOINE	○
14. +EAVRED REX	○	14. +MOINE·	Cross
15. +EAVRED REX	Cross	15. +NOINE	Cross
16. +EANRED REX	Cross	16. +MOINE	Cross
17. +EAVRED REX	Cross	17. +MOINE	Cross
18. +EAVRED REX	Cross	18. +MOINE	Cross
19. +EANRED REX	Cross	19. +MOINE	Cross
20. +EANRED REX	Cross	20. +MOINE	Cross
21. +EANRED RE	Cross	21. +MOINE·	Cross
22. +EANRED REX	Cross	22. +MOINE	Cross
23. +EANRED REX	Cross	23. +MONNE·	○
		24. +MOINE	Cross
		25. +MOINE	Cross
		26. +MOINE	○
		27. +MOINE	Cross
		28. +MOINE	Cross
		29. +MOINE	Cross
		30. +MOINE	Cross



31.	+MOIN·E·	⬤⬤⬤
32.	+MOINE·	⊙
33.	+MOINE	Cross
34.	+MOINE	Cross
35.	+MOINE	⊙
36.	+MOINE	Cross
37.	+MOINE	Cross
38.	+MOINE	Cross
39.	+MOINE	⊕
40.	+MOINE·	Pellet
41.	+MOINE·	⊙
42.	+MOINE·	Cross
43.	+MOINE	Cross
44.	+MOINE	Cross
45.	+MOINE	Cross
46.	+MOINE	Cross

1/1 = 120, 121, 2/2 = 122, 2/3 = 123, 3/3 = 124, 4/3 = 125, 4/4 = 126, 5/5 = 127, 6/5 = 128, 7/6 = 129, 8/7 = 130, 9/8 = 131, 10/9 = 132, 11/10 = 133, 134, 11/11 = 135, 12/12 = 136, 12/13 = 137, 138, 13/14 = 139, 140, 13/15 = 141, 142, 13/16 = 143, 14/17 = 144, 145, 14/18 = 146-8, 14/19 = 149, 15/20 = 150, 16/21 = 151, 152, 16/22 = 153, 16/23 = 154, 16/24 = 155, 17/25 = 156, 17/26 = 157-9, 17/27 = 160, 17/28 = 161, 17/29 = 162, 18/30 = 163, 18/31 = 164, 18/32 = 165, 18/33 = 166, 18/34 = 167, 18/35 = 168, 18/36 = 169, 170, 18/37 = 171, 18/38 = 172, 18/39 = 173, 18 (Ξ recut into E)/40 = 174, 19/41 = 175, 19/32 = 176, 177, 20/42 = 178-80, unclassified (possibly obverse 20)/43 = 181, 21/43 = 182-4, 22/44 = 185-7, 22/45 = 188, 23/46 = 189

Obverse 14 also used by Folcnoth.

Obverse 15 also used by Wulfred (coin 212 below).

Obverse 22 also used by Erwinne (cf. coin 46 above), 'Teveh' (coin 192 below) and Wihtrred (coins 193-202 below).

Reverse 40 also found with Æthelred obverse.

Reverse 46 also found with Æthelred obverse.

#### Moneyer Odilo

1.	+EANRED REX	Cross	1.	+ODILO	Cross
			2.	+ODILO MO	⊙

1/1 = 190, unclassified (illegible, but an Eanred die as this reverse is only found with Eanred obverses)/2 = 191

#### Moneyer 'Teveh'

1.	+EANRED REX	Cross	1.	+TEV·EH	Cross
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1/1 = 192

Obverse 1 also used by Erwinne (cf. coin 46 above), Monne (coins 185-8 above) and Wihtrred (coins 193-202 below).

#### Moneyer Wihtrred

1.	+EANRED REX	Cross	1.	+PIN↑RH⌘	Cross
			2.	+VHTRED	Cross
			3.	+ΔHTRR	Cross
			4.	+DIH1BB	Cross
			5.	+DIH1BB	Cross
			6.	+VHTRED	Cross

1/1 = 193, 1/2 = 194, 195, 1/3 = 196-8, 1/4 = 199, 200, 1/5 = 201, 1/6 = 202

Obverse 1 also used by Erwinne (cf. coin 46 above) Monne (coins 185–8 above) and 'Teveh' (coin 192 above).

Reverse 6 also found with Æthelred obverse.

*Moneyer Wulfred*

1. +EAVRED REX	Cross	1. +VVL·FRED·	Cross
2. +EAVRED REX	Cross	2. +VVL·FRED·	Cross
3. +E·AVR·ED REX	Cross	3. +VVL·FR·ED	Cross
4. +EAVRED REX	Cross	4. +VVL·FRED	Cross
5. +EAVRED REX	Cross	5. +VVL·FRED	Cross
6. +EAVRED REX	Cross	6. +VVL·FRED	Cross
7. +EAVRED REX	Cross	7. +VVL·FRED	Cross
8. +EAVRED REX	Cross	8. +VVL·FRED	Cross

1/1 = 203, 1/2 = 204, 2/2 = 205, 3/3 = 206, 207, 4/4 = 208, 5/5 = 209, 6/6 = 210, 7/7 = 211, 8/8 = 212

Obverse 8 also used by Monne (coin 150 above).

*Moneyer not known*

1. +EAVRED REX ☸

1/unclassified (illegible, possibly a Brother reverse as this obverse is found with Brother reverses) = 213

EAVRED OR ÆTHELRED

*Moneyer Fordred*

1. +FORDRED Cross

Unclassified (+E ... RED REX Cross, not legible at material point)/1 (die otherwise unrecorded for either king) = 214.

ÆTHELRED

*Moneyer Alghere*

1. +ÆDIL·RED R	Cross	1. +AUGHERE	Cross
2. +ÆDILRED R	Cross	2. +AUGHERE	Cross
3. +ÆDILRED R	Cross	3. +AUGHERE	Cross
4. +ÆDILRED R	Cross	4. +AUGHERE·RE	Cross
5. +ÆDILRED R	Cross	5. +AUGHERE	Cross
6. +ÆDILRE R	Cross	6. +AUGHERE	Cross
7. +EDILRED REX	Cross	7. +AUGHERE·RE·	☸
8. +EDIRED REX	Cross	8. +AUGHERE·RE·	☸
9. +EDILRED REX	Cross	9. +AUGHERE	Cross
		10. +AUGHERE	Cross
		11. +AUGHERE·RE	☸
		12. +AUGHERE·RE	☸
		13. +AUGHERE	☸
		14. *+AUGHERE	Cross
		15. +AUGHERE	Cross
		16. *+AUGHERE	Cross
		17. +AUGHERE	Cross

1/1 = 215–17, 1/2 = 218–21, 1/3 = 222–6, 1/4 = 227, 228, 2/3 = 229, 3/5 = 230–2, 3/6 = 233, 3/7 = 234, 3/8 = 235–8, 4/9 = 239, 240, 5/10 = 241–5, 6/11 = 246–8, 6/12 = 249, 6/13 = 250,

6/not noted = 251, 7/14 = 252, 7/15 = 253, 254, 8/15 = 255, 9/16 = 256, unclassified (illegible, but this reverse die known only with Æthelred obverse)/17 = 257

Obverse 7 also used by Brother (coin 272 below).

Obverse 9 also used by Brother (coins 270, 271 below), Ethelweard, Fordred (coins 488, 489 below) and Leofthegn.

#### Moneyer Brother

1. +EDELRED REX	⋈	1. +BROÐER	Cross
2. +EDELRED REX	⋈	2. +BROÐER	Cross
3. +EDELRED RE	Cross	3. +BRODER	Cross
4. +EDIÐRED REX	Cross	4. +BROÐER	Cross
5. +EDILRED REX	Cross	5. *+BROÐER	Cross
6. +EDIÐRED REX	⋈	6. +BROÐER	Cross
7. +EDILRED REX	Cross	7. +BROÐER	Cross
8. +EDILRED REX	Cross	8. +BROÐER	Cross
		9. +BRODER	Cross
		10. +BROÐER	Cross
		11. +BROÐER	Cross
		12. +BROÐER	Cross
		13. +BROÐER ⋈	Cross
		14. +BROÐER	Cross
		15. +BROÐER	Cross

1/1 = 258, 1/2 = 259, 1/3 = 260, 2/4 = 261, 3/5 = 262, 3/6 = 263, 4/7 = 264, 5/8 = 265, 5/9 = 266, 6/10 = 267, 268, 6/11 = 269, 7/12 = 270, 7/13 = 271, 8/14 = 272, unclassified (illegible)/15 (die not otherwise known and attribution to Æthelred uncertain, but placed here on stylistic grounds) = 273

Obverse 1 also used by Monne (coins 619, 620 below).

Obverse 2 also used by Monne.

Obverse 3 also used by Wihtred.

Obverse 6 also used by Fordred and Monne (coin 678 below).

Obverse 7 also used by Alghere (coin 256 above), Ethelweard, Fordred and Leofthegn.

Obverse 8 also used by Alghere (coins 252-4 above).

#### Moneyer 'Coenred'

1. +EDIÐRED REX	Cross	1. *+COEINBED	⋈
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1/1 = 274

Obverse 1 also used by Cunemund, Fordred (coin 490 below), Leofthegn, Monne, Odilo (coin 727 below), and Wulfred (coin 791 below).

#### Moneyer Cunemund

1. +EDIÐRED REX	Cross	1. +CVIEMV+D	Cross
2. +EDIÐRED REX	Cross	2. +CVIEMV+D	Cross

1/1 = 275, 1/2 = 276, 2/2 = 277

#### Moneyer Eanred

1. +EDIÐRED REX	⊙	1. +EΛIRED	⋈
2. +EDIÐRED REX	⋈	2. +EΛIRED	Cross
3. +EDIÐRED REX	⊙	3. +EΛ⋈NRED	⋈
4. +EÐELRED RE	Cross	4. +EΛNRED	⋈
5. +EDIÐRED REX	⋈	5. +EΛIRED	⊙

6. +EDILRED REX	Cross	6. +EΛNRED	Cross
7. +EDIFRED REX	Cross	7. +EΛIRED	○
8. +EDIFRED REX	Cross	8. *+EΛIRED	⋈
9. +EÐFLRED REX	Cross	9. +EΛ·NRED	Cross
10. +EDIFRED REX	Cross	10. +EΛNRED	⋈
11. +EDILRED	⋈	11. +EΛIRED⋈	○
12. +EDILRED REX	⋈	12. +EΛIRED⋈	⋈
13. +EDILRED RE	Cross	13. +EΛIRED	Cross
14. +EDIFRED RE:	⋈	14. +EΛ·IRED	⊙
15. +EDIFRED REX	Cross	15. +EΛNRED	Cross
16. +EDRED REX IΓ	Cross	16. +EΛIRED	○
17. +EDIFRED REX	Cross	17. +EΛI·RED	○
18. +EDIFRED REX	○	18. +EΛIRED	Cross
19. +EDIFRED REX	○	19. +EΛIRED	Cross
20. +EDIFRED RE	Cross	20. +EΛIRED	○
21. +EÐELRED REX	Cross	21. +EΛIRED	○
22. +EÐELRED R	Cross	22. +EΛIRED	○
23. +ÆDILRE REX	Cross	23. +EΛIRED	Cross
24. +EÐELRED REX	⋈	24. +EΛIRED	Cross
25. +ÆILRED R	Cross	25. +EΛIRED⋈	Cross
26. +ÆDILRED REX	⋈	26. +EΛNR·ED	⋈
27. +ÆILRED R	Pellet	27. +EΛIRED	Cross
28. +ÆILRED R	Pellet	28. +EΛIRED	Cross
29. +ÆILRED R	⋈	29. +EΛIRED	⋈
30. +ÆILRED R	⋈	30. +EΛIRED⋈	⋈
31. +ÆILRED R	Pellet	31. +EΛIRED	Pellet
		32. +EΛIRED⋈	Cross
		33. +EΛIRED	⋈
		34. +EΛIRED	Cross
		35. +EΛIRED	⋈
		36. +EΛIRED	⋈
		37. +EΛIRED	⋈
		38. +EΛIRED	⋈
		39. +EΛIRED	Cross
		40. +EΛIRED	⋈
		41. +EΛIRED	Cross
		42. +EΛIRED	Cross
		43. +EΛIRED	⋈
		44. +EΛIRED	Cross
		45. +EΛIRED	Cross
		46. +EΛIRED	⋈
		47. +ΛIRED	⋈
		48. +ΛIRED⋈	Cross
		49. +EΛIRED	⋈
		50. +EΛNRED	○
		51. +EΛ·IRED	⋈
		52. +EΛNRED	Cross
		53. +EΛIRED+	Cross
		54. +EΛNRED R	⋈
		55. +EΛNRED	Cross
		56. +EΛNRED	Cross
		57. +EΛNRED	○
		58. +EΛNRED R	Cross
		59. +EΛNRED	⋈
		60. +EΛNRED	⋈

61. +ÆNRED	Pellet
62. +EÆNRED	Pellet
63. +EÆNRED	⋄
64. +EÆNRED	Pellet
65. +EÆNRED	Cross
66. +EÆNRED R	⋄
67. +EÆNRED R	⋄
68. +EÆNRED	⋄
69. +EÆNRED	⋄
70. +EÆNRED	⋄
71. +EÆNRED	⊙

1/1 = 278, 279, 1/2 = 280, 1/3 = 281, 282, 2/3 = 283, 2/4 = 284, 285, 2/5 = 286, 2/6 = 287, 288, 2/7 = 289, 3/7 = 290, 291, 3/3 = 292, 3/8 = 293, 294, 3/9 = 295, 4/10 = 296, 297, 4/6 = 298, 4/11 = 299, 4/12 = 300, 4/13 = 301, 302, 4/14 = 303, 5/14 = 304, 5/6 = 305, 5/15 = 306, 5/16 = 307, 6/16 = 308, 6/17 = 309, 310, 311, 6/18 = 312, 313, 6/19 = 314, 6/20 = 315, 6/unclassified (+EÆNRED ⊙) = 316, 7/15 = 317, 7/21 = 318-20, 8/20 = 321, 8/22 = 322, 9/23 = 323, 9/24 = 324, 325, 9/25 = 326, 9/26 = 327, 10/27 = 328, 11/28 = 329, 11/29 = 330, 12/30 = 331, 12/31 = 332, 333, 13/32 = 334, 13/33 = 335, 336, 13/34 = 337, 13/35 = 338, 13/36 = 339, 14/37 = 340, 341, 14/38 = 342, 14/39 = 343-5, 14/40 = 346, 14/41 = 347, 14/42 = 348, 14/43 = 349, 14/44 = 350, 15/44 = 351, 352, 15/45 = 353, 16/42 = 354, 17/46 = 355, 17/47 = 356, 357, 17/48 = 358, 359, 18/49 = 360, 18/50 = 361, 19/51 = 362, 363, 20/52 = 364, 21/53 = 365, 22/54 = 366, 23/unclassified (+EÆNRED ?) = 367, 23/55 = 368, 23/56 = 369, 24/57 = 370, 25/58 = 371, 26/59 = 372, 26/unclassified (.EANRED ?) = 373, 27/54 = 374, 27/60 = 375, 27/61 = 376, 27/62 = 377, 27/63 = 378, 27/unclassified (.EA . . . ?) = 379, 28/61 = 380, 28/62 = 381, 28/64 = 382, 383, 28/63 = 384, 28/65 = 385, 28/unclassified (...N ... ?) = 386, 29/66 = 387, 29/67 = 388, 389, 30/55 = 390, 391, 31/57 = 392, 393, unclassified (illegible)/68 = 394, unclassified (illegible)/39 = 395, unclassified (illegible)/69 = 396, unclassified (illegible)/43 = 397, unclassified (illegible)/70 = 398, unclassified (illegible)/71 = 399, unclassified (illegible)/60 = 400, unclassified (...RED... ?)/61 = 401, unclassified (+E...D R Cross)/54 = 402, unclassified (illegible)/62 = 403, unclassified (+EDIF ⋄)/unclassified (..ÆNRE Cross) = 404, unclassified (? ⊙)/unclassified (+EÆN..D ⋄) = 405

Obverse 6 also used by Hunlaf (coin 495 below).

Obverse 13 also used by Leofthegn (coins 524, 525 below).

Obverse 15 also used by Wendelberht.

Obverse 18 also used by Monne and Wulfred.

Obverse 19 also used by Fordred (coins 435, 436 below) and Wulfred.

Obverse 21 also used by Erwinne (coin 406 below) and by Wihtrred (coin 755 below).

Obverse 22 also used by Leofthegn (coins 550, 551 below).

Obverse 27 also used by Leofthegn.

Obverse 29 also used by Leofthegn.

Reverse 51 also found with a die that purports to be another Eanred reverse but which is not in fact found in combination with obverse dies.

#### *Moneyer Erwinne*

1. +EDELRED REX	Cross	1. +ERPINNE	⋄
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1/1 = 406

Obverse 1 also used by Eanred (coin 365 above) and Wihtrred (coin 755 below).

Reverse 1 also found with obverse dies of Eanred (coin 46 above) and of Archbishop Wigmund.

#### *Moneyer Fordred*

1. +EDILRED REX	Cross	1. +FORDRED	Cross
2. +EDILRED RE	Cross	2. +FORDRED·	Cross
3. +EDILRED RE	Cross	3. +FORDRED	Cross
4. +EØFLRED REX	⋄	4. +FORDRED	Cross



5. +EØFLRED RE	Cross	5. +FORDRED	Cross
6. +EØFLRED RE	⋮	6. +FORDRED.	Cross
7. +EØFLRED RE	○	7. +FORDRED	Cross
8. +EØFLRED RE	○	8. +FORDRED	+
9. +EØFLRED RE	○	9. +FORDRED	○
10. +EØFLRED RE	⋮	10. +FORDRED	Cross
11. +EØFLRED RE	⋮	11. +FORDRED	⋮
12. +EØFLRED RE	Pellet	12. +FORDRED	⋮
13. +EDIΓRED REX	○	13. +FORDRED	⋮
14. +EDIΓRED REX	⋈	14. +FORDRED	⋮
15. +EDIΓRED REX	⋈	15. +FORDRED.	⋈
16. +EDIΓRED REX	⋈	16. +EORDRED X	⋈
17. +EDIΓRED REX	⋈	17. +EORDRDE	Cross
18. +EDIΓRED REX	⋈	18. ⋈F:ORDRE:D:	⋈
19. +EDIΓRED REX	Cross	19. +FORDRED	○
20. +EDIΓRED RE	Cross	20. +:F·O·RD·R:ED:	Cross
21. +EDIΓRED REX	Cross	21. +FORDRED	Cross
22. +EDIΓRED REX	⋮	22. +FORDR::ED	Cross
23. +EØILRED X	⋮	23. ⋈FORDRED	Cross
24. +EDLIRED RE	⋮	24. +FORDRED	Cross
25. +EDLIRED RE	Cross	25. +FORDRED	⋈
26. +EDLIRED RE	Cross	26. +FORDRED	Cross
27. +ERDERLIDE	Cross	27. +EORD·R·ED:	⋈
28. +EDLIRED RE	Cross	28. +FORDRED	⋮
29. +EDLIRED RE	Cross	29. +FORDRED	⋮
30. +EDLIRED RE	⋮	30. *+EØØD·BED	Cross
31. +EDLIRED RE	Cross	31. +EORDRED	Cross
32. +EDILRED REX	Cross	32. +FORDRED	Cross
33. +EDIΓRED REX	Cross	33. +EOR·DRED	⋮
		34. +EORDR·ED	Cross
		35. +EORDRED	⋮
		36. +EORDRED	Cross
		37. +EORDRED	Cross
		38. +EORDRED	⋮
		39. +EORDRED	⋈
		40. +EORDRED	Cross
		41. +EORDRED	⋮
		42. +EORDRED	Cross
		43. +EORDRED	Cross
		44. *+EØØD·BED	⋈
		45. *+EØØD·BED	Cross
		46. +FORDRED	⋮
		47. +EORDRED X	Cross

1/1 = 407, 408, 2/1 = 409, 410, 3/2 = 411-14, 4/3 = 415, 416, 4/4 = 417, 5/5 = 418, 5/6 = 419, 5/7 = 420, 421, 6/8 = 422, 7/9 = 423, 424, 8/10 = 425, 426, 9/11 = 427-30, 9/12 = 431, 10/13 = 432, 11/14 = 433, 12/15 = 434, 13/16 = 435, 13/17 = 436, 14/18 = 437, 15/19 = 438, 16/unclassified (O of FORDRED only letter visible, type ?) = 439, 17/20 = 440, 441, 18/21 = 442, 18/unclassified (....DRED ?) = 443, 18/22 = 444, 19/22 = 445-7, 19/23 = 448-50, 20/24 = 451, 452, 20/25 = 453-6, 20/26 = 457, 458, 21/27 = 459, 22/28 = 460, 22/29 = 461, 22/30 = 462, 463, 23/31 = 464, 23/32 = 465, 23/33 = 466, 24/34 = 467, 25/35 = 468-70, 26/36 = 471, 26/37 = 472, 473, 27/38 = 474, 475, 27/39 = 476, 27/40 = 477-80, 28/41 = 481, 482, 29/33 = 483, 484, 30/42 = 485, 31/43 = 486, 487, 32/44 = 488, 489, 33/45 = 490, unclassified (.EDIΓRE ?)/unclassified (..ORDRED ⋈) = 491, unclassified (..... RED REX ⋈)/46 = 492, unclassified (legend illegible, type ○)/47 = 493, unclassified (illegible)/39 = 494

Obverse 13 also used by Eanred (coins 362, 363 above) and Wulfred.

Obverse 23 also used by Monne (coin 611 below).

Obverse 28 also used by Eanred and 'Edelher' (coin 799 below).

Obverse 29 also used by Monne (cf. coins 688-98 below).

Obverse 30 also used by Wulfsig (coins 795-8 below).

Obverse 31 also used by Wulfsig.

Obverse 32 also used by Alghere (coin 256 above), Brother (coins 270, 271 above), Ethelweard and Leofthegn.

Obverse 33 also used by Coenred (coin 274 above), Cunemund, Leofthegn, Monne, Odilo (coin 727 below) and Wulfred (coin 791 below).

Reverse 33 also found with Redwulf obverse (coins 829-31 below).

Reverse 41 also found with Redwulf obverse (coins 832, 833 below).

### *Moneyer Hunlaf*

1. +EDILRED REX

Cross

1. +HVNLF



1/1 = 495

Obverse 1 also used by Eanred (coins 308-16 above).

Reverse 1 also found with Redwulf obverse.

### *Moneyer Leofthegn*

1. +AEDELRED REX

Swastika

1. +LEOFDE3N



2. +EDELRED REX



2. +LEOFDE3N



3. +EDEFRED REX



3. +LEOFDE3N

Cross

4. +EDELRED REX



4. +EOLFDE3N

Cross

5. +EDELRED REX



5. +LEOFDE3N



6. +ERDERLE

Cross

6. +LEOFDE3N



7. +EDURED RE

Cross

7. +LEOFDE3N



8. +EDILRED RE

Cross

8. +LEOFDE3N



9. +EDIΓRED RE

Cross

9. +LEOFDE3N

Cross

10. +EDILRED RE

Cross

10. +ΓEODE3N

Cross

11. +EDERED REX

Cross

11. \*+ΓEODΓDE3N

Cross

12. +AEDELRE3 REX



12. +LEOFDE3N

Cross

13. +EDELRED R

Cross

13. +LEOFDE3N

Cross

14. +EDIΓRED REX

Cross

14. +LEOFDE3X

Cross

15. +EDIΓRED REX

Cross

15. +LEOFDE3N

Cross

16. +EDIΓRED REX



16. +LEOFDE3N



17. +EDIΓRED REX

Cross

17. +LEOFDE3N

Cross

18. +EDIΓRED REX

Cross

18. +LEOEDE3N

Cross

19. +EDELRED REX



19. +LEOFDE3X

Cross

20. +EDELRED R

Cross

20. +LEOFDE3N

Cross

21. +EDELRED RE

Cross

21. +LEOEDE3A

Cross

22. +EDILRED REX



22. +LEOFDE3N



23. +EDILRED REX



23. +LEOCDE3N+



24. +EDILRED RE



24. +LEOFDE3N



25. +EDILRED REX



25. +LEOFDE3N+



26. +EDILRED RE



26. +LEOFDE3N+



27. +EDELRED RE



27. +LEOFDE3N



28. +ED[... ]JED REX

Cross

28. +LEOFDE3N



29. +A-EDILRED R

Cross

29. +ΓEOFDE3N



30. +ΓEOFDE3N

Cross

31. +ΓEOFDE3N

Cross

32.	+ΓΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	⊕
33.	+ΓΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	Cross
34.	+ΓΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	Cross
35.	+ΓΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	Cross
36.	+ΛΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	Cross
37.	+ΛΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	Cross
38.	+ΛΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	Cross
39.	+ΛΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	⊕
40.	+ΛΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	⊕
41.	+ΛΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	⊕
42.	+ΛΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	⊕
43.	+ΛΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	Cross
44.	+ΛΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	Cross
45.	+ΛΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	⊕
46.	*+ΓΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	⊕
47.	+ΓΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	[?]
48.	*+ΓΕΟΦΔΕΞΗ	Cross

1/1 = 496, 2/2 = 497, 2/3 = 498, 3/4 = 499, 500, 4/5 = 501, 4/6 = 502, 5/7 = 503, 504, 5/8 = 505, 5/9 = 506, 507, 6/10 = 509, 6/11 = 510, 6/12 = 511, 6/13 = 512, 7/13 = 513-16, 7/14 = 517, 7/15 = 518, 8/16 = 519, 9/17 = 520, 521, 9/18 = 522, 9/19 = 523, 10/20 = 524, 10/21 = 525, 11/22 = 526, 527, 12/23 = 528-30, 12/24 = 531, 532, 12/25 = 533, 12/26 = 534, 13/27 = 535, 536, 13/28 = 537, 538, 13/unclassified (illegible) = 539, 14/29 = 540, 15/30 = 541, 542, 16/31 = 543, 16/32 = 544, 545, 17/33 = 546, 18/34 = 547, 19/35 = 548, 549, 20/36 = 550, 551, 21/37 = 552, 22/38 = 553, 23/39 = 554, 24/40 = 555, 556, 24/41 = 557, 24/42 = 558, 24/43 = 559, 560, 25/42 = 561, 25/44 = 562, 26/45 = 563, 564, 26/unclassified (illegible) = 565, 27/46 = 566, 28/47 = 567, 29/48 = 568, 569, unclassified (illegible)/unclassified (moneyer Leofthehn, no closer identification) = 570.

Obverse 10 also used by Eanred (coins 334-9 above).

Obverse 18 also used by Fordred.

Obverse 19 also used by Monne (coins 648-51 below) and Odilo (coin 726 below).

Obverse 20 also used by Eanred (coin 366 above).

Obverse 22 also used by Fordred.

### Moneyer Monne

1.	+EDILRED X	⊕	1.	+MONNE	⊕
2.	+EDELRED REX	⊕	2.	+MOINE	⊕
3.	+EDELRED REX	⊕	3.	+MOINE	Pellet
4.	+EDILRED REX	⊕	4.	*+WONIE	⊕
5.	+EDILRED REX	Cross	5.	*+WONIE	⊕
6.	+EDILRED X	Cross	6.	+MOINE	⊕
7.	+EDILRED X	Cross	7.	+MOINE	Pellet
8.	+EDILRED X	Pellet	8.	+MOINE	⊕
9.	+EDILRED X	⊕	9.	+MOINE	⊕
10.	+EDILRED X	Pellet	10.	+MOINE	⊕
11.	+EDELRED REX	⊕	11.	+MOINE	⊕
12.	+EDELRED REX	Cross	12.	+MOINE	Cross
13.	+EDILRED	Cross	13.	+MONNE	Cross
14.	+EDELRED REX	Cross	14.	+MOINE	Cross
15.	+EDELRED REX	Cross	15.	+MONNE	⊕
16.	+EDELRED REX	⊕	16.	+MOINE	Pellet
17.	+EDELRED REX	⊕	17.	*+WONIE	Cross
18.	+EDELRED REX	⊕	18.	+MOINE	⊕
19.	+EDILRED	⊕	19.	*+WONIE	Cross

20. +EDILRED	⦿	20. +MOINE	⦿
21. *+EDIGBED	⦿	21. +MOINE	Pellet
22. +EDILRED	Cross	22. +MOINE	⦿
23. +EDILRED	⦿	23. +MOINE	Cross
24. +EDILRED X	⦿	24. +MONNE	Pellet
25. +EDFLRED REX	Cross	25. +MOINE	Cross
26. +EDFLRED RX	Cross	26. +MOINE·E·	Cross
27. +EPFLRED REX	Cross	27. +MOINE	Cross
28. +EDIGRED REX	⦿	28. +MOINE·	⦿
29. +EDELRED REX	Pellet	29. +MOINE	Pellet
30. +AEDELRED REX	⦿	30. +MONNE	Pellet
31. +EDILRED	⦿	31. +MOINE	⦿
32. +EDILRED	⦿	32. +MOINE	Pellet
33. +EDILRED RE	Cross	33. +MOINE	Cross
34. +EDILRED X	Pellet	34. +MOINE·	Cross
35. +EDIGRED REX	⦿	35. +MOINE	⦿
36. +EDLIRE RED	Cross	36. *+WONIE	⦿
37. +EDILRED REX	Cross	37. +MOINE	⦿
38. +EDIGRED REX	Cross	38. +MOINE·	⦿
39. +EDIGRED REX	Cross	39. +MOINE	⦿
		40. +MOINE	⦿
		41. +MOINE	Cross
		42. +MOINE	Pellet
		43. +MOINE	⦿
		44. +MONNE	⦿
		45. +MONNE	⦿
		46. +MOINE	Cross
		47. +MOINE	Cross
		48. +MONNE	Cross
		49. +MOINE	⦿
		50. +MOINE	⦿
		51. +MONNE	Cross
		52. +MONNE	Cross
		53. +MOINE·E·	⦿
		54. +MOINE	⦿
		55. +MOINE	⦿
		56. +MOINE	⦿
		57. +MOINE	Pellet
		58. +MOINE	⦿
		59. +MONNE·	⦿
		60. +MOINE	⦿
		61. +MONNE	⦿
		62. +MOINE·IE	Cross
		63. +MONNE·E	Cross
		64. +MOINE	Cross
		65. +MOINE	Cross
		66. +MOINE	Cross
		67. +MOINE·E	Cross
		68. *+WONIE	Cross
		69. +MOINE	⦿
		70. +MOINE	Pellet
		71. +MOINE	Cross
		72. +MOINE	⦿
		73. +MOINE	⦿
		74. +MOINE·	⦿



75. +MOI·N·E·	⊙
76. +MOI·NE	⊕
77. +MOINE	⊙
78. +MOI·NE	⊙
79. +MOI·NE	Cross
80. +MO·NE	Cross
81. +·MOHNE	Pellet

1/1 = 571, 1/2 = 572, 1/3 = 573, 1/4 = 574-7, 1/5 = 578, 1/6 = 579, 1/7 = 580, 2/8 = 581, 582, 3/9 = 583, 584, 3/10 = 585-9, 3/11 = 590, 4/12 = 591, 4/13 = 592, 593, 5/2 = 594-6, 6/2 = 597, 7/14 = 598-601, 7/15 = 602, 7/16 = 603, 604, 8/17 = 605, 8/18 = 606, 607, 8/19 = 608-10, 9/20 = 611, 10/21 = 612-15, 10/22 = 616, 617, 10/unclassified (+MOINE ⊕) = 618, 11/23 = 619, 620, 12/24 = 621, 12/25 = 622, 623, 13/26 = 624-6, 13/27 = 627, 13/28 = 628, 629, 13/29 = 630, 14/29 = 631, 14/30 = 632, 14/31 = 633, 14/32 = 634, 635, 14/33 = 636, 14/34 = 637, 14/35 = 638, 14/36 = 639, 14/15 = 640, 15/37 = 641, 15/38 = 642, 16/14 = 643-5, 16/unclassified (+MOINE ?) = 646, 16/35 = 647, 17/39 = 648-50, 17/40 = 651, 18/41 = 652, 18/42 = 653, 19/43 = 654, 655, 20/44 = 656, 21/44 = 657, 22/45 = 658, 659, 22/46 = 660, 23/47 = 661-3, 23/48 = 664, 23/49 = 665, 23/50 = 666, 23/unclassified (+MO... ?) = 667, 23/51 = 668, 23/52 = 669, 24/52 = 670, 24/53 = 671, 24/54 = 672, 25/55 = 673, 674, 26/56 = 675, 27/57 = 676, 677, 28/30 = 678, 29/58 = 679, 30/59 = 680-2, 30/60 = 683-5, 31/61 = 686, 32/62 = 687, 33/63 = 688-91, 33/64 = 692, 33/65 = 693, 33/66 = 694, 33 (later state, reads EDLIREN)/67 = 695, 696, 33 (same state)/68 = 697, 33 (same state)/69 = 698, 34/70 = 699, 35/71 = 700, 36/72 = 701, 36/73 = 702, 36/74 = 703, 704, 37/75 = 705, 38/76 = 706, 707, 38/77 = 708, 38/46 = 709-11, 39/78 = 712-15, 39/79 = 716, 39/80 = 717, 718, unclassified (+EDI... REX ?)/unclassified (+MOINE Cross) = 719, unclassified (+EDE... .EX ?)/14 = 720, unclassified (illegible)/15 = 721, unclassified (illegible)/81 = 722, unclassified (illegible)/31 = 723, unclassified (+EDIL... ?)/unclassified (moneyer Monne, type cross, not otherwise legible) = 724

Obverse 9 also used by Fordred (coins 464-6 above).

Obverse 11 also used by Brother (coins 258-60 above).

Obverse 14 also used by Wulfred (coins 788-90 below).

Obverse 17 also used by Leofthegn (coins 548, 549 above) and Odilo (coin 726 below).

Obverse 18 also used by Odilo (coin 725 below).

Obverse 25 also used by Wihtrud (coins 769, 770 below).

Obverse 28 also used by Brother (coins 267-9 above) and Fordred.

Obverse 31 also used by Fordred.

Obverse 33 also used by Fordred (coins 483-4 above).

Reverse 6 also found with Eanred and Redwulf obverses.

Reverse 7 also found with Eanred obverse.

Reverse 9 is modified state of die found with Eanred obverse.

Reverse 30 also found with Redwulf obverse (coin 844 below).

Reverse 66 also found with Redwulf obverse.

Reverse 70 also found with Redwulf obverse (coins 839, 840 below).

#### Moneyer Odilo

1. +EDELRED REX	⊕	1. +ODILO MO	⊙
2. +EDELRED REX	⊕	2. +ODI·L·O	Cross
3. +EDIRRED REX	Cross		

1/1 = 725, 2/1 = 726, 3/2 = 727

Obverse 1 also used by Monne (coins 652, 653 above).

Obverse 2 also used by Leofthegn (coins 548, 549 above) and Monne (coins 648-51 above).

Obverse 3 also used by Coenred (coin 274 above), Cunemund, Fordred (coin 490 above), Leofthegn, Monne and Wulfred (coin 791 below).

Reverse 2 also found with Redwulf obverse (cf. coin 817 below).

*Moneyer Wendelberht*

1. +ERDERLIDE	Cross
2. +EDILRED RE	Cross
3. +EDILRED RE	Cross
4. +EDILRED RE	Cross
5. +EDIFRED REX	Cross
6. +EDIFRED REX	Cross
7. +EDILRED RE	Cross
8. +EDIFRED REX	Cross

1. +VEINDELBERHT	Cross
2. +VEINDELBERHT	Cross
3. +VEINDELBERHT	Cross
4. +VEINDELBERHT	Cross
5. +VEINDELBERHT	Cross
6. +VEINDELBERHT	Cross
7. +VEINDELBERHT	Cross
8. +VEINDEΓBERHT	Cross
9. +VEINDEΓBERHT	Cross
10. +VEINDEΓBERHT	Cross
11. +VEINDEΓBERHT	Cross
12. +VEINDEΓBERHT	Cross
13. +VEINDELBERHT	Cross
14. +VEINDELBERHT	Cross

1/1 = 728, 1/2 = 729, 2/2 = 730, 731, 2/3 = 732, 2/4 = 733, 2/5 = 734, 2/6 = 735, 2/7 = 736, 3/7 = 737, 738, 3/8 = 739, 740, 3/9 = 741, 4/10 = 742, 743, 5/11 = 744, 745, 5/12 = 746, 747, 6/12 = 748, 7/13 = 749, 7/14 = 750, 751, 8/8 = 752, unclassified (.EDIL... .. Cross)/7 = 753

Reverse 8 also found with Redwulf obverse (coin 850 below).

*Moneyer Wihtred*

1. +EDFLRED REX	Cross
2. +ED <del>EL</del> RED REX	Cross
3. +EDELRED REX	Cross
4. +EDILRED REX	⊗
5. +EDFLRED REX	⊗
6. +ED <del>EL</del> RED REX	Cross
7. +EDILRED REX	Cross

1. +PIRTHED	Cross
2. +DIHTRP	Cross
3. +PIHTRED	⊙
4. +PIHTRED	⊗
5. +DIHTRED	Cross
6. +VIN↑RED	Cross
7. +VIH↑RED	Cross

1/1 = 754, 2/2 = 755, 3/2 = 756, 4/2 = 757-60, 5/3 = 761-5, 5/unclassified (Wihtred reverse, type ⊙, otherwise uncertain) = 766, 5/4 = 767, 768, 6/5 = 769, 770, 7/6 = 771, 7/7 = 772, 773

Obverse 2 also used by Eanred (coin 365 above) and Erwinne (coin 406 above).

Obverse 6 also used by Monne (coins 673, 674 above).

*Moneyer Wulfred*

1. +EDILRED REX	Cross
2. +EDLIRED RE	Cross
3. + <del>ED</del> ILRED X	Cross
4. + <del>ED</del> ILRED X	Cross
5. +ED <del>IL</del> RED X	Pellet
6. +EDIURED	⊗
7. +EDELRED REX	Cross
8. +EDIFRED REX	Cross

1. +VVLFRED	Pellet
2. +VVLFRED	Pellet
3. +VVLFRED	Cross
4. +VVLFRED	Cross
5. +VVLFRED	Pellet
6. +VVLFRED	⊗
7. +VVLERED	Cross
8. +VVLERED	⊗
9. +VVL <del>ER</del> ED	⊗
10. +VVL <del>ER</del> FRED	Cross
11. +VVLFRED	Cross

1/1 = 774, 2/2 = 775, 2/unclassified (+...RED ?) = 776, 3/3 = 777, 778, 3/4 = 779, 3/5 = 780, 4/6 = 781, 782, 4/7 = 783, 4/8 = 784, 785, 5/2 = 786, 6/9 = 787, 7/10 = 788-90, 8/11 = 791, unclassified (+ED..... ?)/8 = 792

Obverse 1 also used by Monne.

Obverse 5 also used by Monne.

Obverse 6 also used by Monne.

Obverse 7 also used by Monne (coins 631–40 above).

Obverse 8 also used by Coenred (coin 274 above), Cunemund, Fordred (coin 490 above), Leofthegn, Monne and Odilo (coin 727 above).

#### *Moneyer Wulfsig*

1. +EDLIRED RE	Cross	1. +ΛΛΓΕΞΙC	Cross
2. +EDLIRED RE	⋈	2. +ΛΛΓΕΞΙC	Cross
		3. +ΛΛΓΕΞΙC	Cross
		4. +ΛΛΙ·Ε·⋈·ΞΙC	Cross

1/1 = 793, 1/2 = 794, 2/2 = 795, 2/3 = 796, 797, 2/4 = 798

Obverse 2 also used by Fordred (coin 485 above).

#### *Moneyer 'Edelher'*

1. +EDLIRED RE	Cross	1. +EDELHER	Cross
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1/1 = 799

Obverse 1 also used by Eanred and Fordred (coins 481, 482 above).

#### *Moneyer uncertain*

The hoard also contained thirteen coins struck from Æthelred obverse dies and reverses that were illegible (coins 800–12).

Obverse coin 800 used by Eanred (coins 355–9 above).

Obverse coin 801 used by Eanred (coins 387–9 above) and by Leofthegn.

Obverse coin 802 used by Eanred (coins 360–1 above), Monne and Wulfred.

Obverse coin 803 used by Leofthegn (coins 555–60 above).

Obverse coin 804 used by Monne (coins 706–11 above).

Obverse coin 805 used by Eanred (coins 308–16 above) and Hunlaf (coin 495 above).

Obverse coin 806 used by Wendelberht (coins 730–6 above).

Obverse coin 807 used by Fordred (coins 464–6 above) and by Monne (coin 611 above).

Obverse coin 808 .....D RE.      ⊙

Obverse coin 809 +EDEL R.. ...      Cross

Obverse coin 810 +EDIL R.. .EX      ⋈

Obverse coin 811 .....RLIDE      Cross

Obverse coin 812 +EDI.... ..X      Cross

#### ÆTHELRED OR REDWULF

##### *Moneyer Fordred*

1. +FORDRED	⋈
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Unclassified (illegible)/1 = 813

Reverse 1 found with Æthelred obverse (obverse of coins 460–3 above) and Redwulf obverses (obverse of coin 834 and obverse of coin 836).

## REDWULF

*Moneyer Alghere*

- |               |       |             |       |
|---------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| 1. +REDVLF RX | Cross | 1. +ALGHERE | Cross |
|---------------|-------|-------------|-------|
- 1/1 = 814

Reverse 1 also found with Æthelred obverse.

*Moneyer Brother*

- |               |       |            |       |
|---------------|-------|------------|-------|
| 1. +REDVLF RE | Cross | 1. +BROÐER | Cross |
| 2. +REDVLF RE | ✠     | 2. +BROÐER | Cross |
- 1/1 = 815, 816, 2/2 = 817

Obverse 2 also used by Coenred, Fordred (coins 829–31 below), Monne, Odilo, and 'Nerred' (coin 851 below).

*Moneyer Coenred*

- |                |   |            |       |
|----------------|---|------------|-------|
| 1. +REDVLF REX | ⬢ | 1. +COENED | Cross |
| 2. +REDVLF REX | ⬢ | 2. +COENED | Cross |
- 1/1 = 818, 2/1 = 819, 2/2 = 820–3

*Moneyer Cuthberht*

- |                |       |               |       |
|----------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| 1. +REDVLF REX | Cross | 1. +CVDBEREHL | Cross |
| 2. +REDVLF REX | Cross | 2. +CVDBEREHL | ⬢     |
| 3. +REDVLF REX | Cross | 3. +CVDBEREHL | ⬢     |
| 4. +REDVLF REX | Cross |               |       |

1/1 = 824, 2/1 = 825, 3/2 = 826, 4/3 = 827, unclassified (illegible)/3 = 828

Obverse 3 also used by Eanred, Fordred (coins 832, 833 below) and Monne (coins 839, 840 below).

Obverse 4 also used by Monne (coin 844 below).

*Moneyer Fordred*

- |                |       |              |       |
|----------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| 1. +REDVLF RE  | ✠     | 1. +EOR·DRED | ⬢     |
| 2. +REDVLF REX | Cross | 2. +EORDRED  | ⬢     |
| 3. +ERFLVDER   | Cross | 3. +FORDRED  | Cross |
| 4. +REDVL RE   | ✠     | 4. +EORDRE   | Cross |
| 5. +REDVL RE   | Cross | 5. +EORDRED  | Cross |

1/1 = 829–31, 2/2 = 832, 833, 3/3 = 834, 4/4 = 835, 5/5 = 836

Obverse 1 also used by Brother (coin 817 above), Coenred, Monne, Odilo and 'Nerred' (coin 851 below).

Obverse 2 also used by Cuthberht (coin 826 above), Eanred and Monne (coins 839, 840 below).

Obverse 4 also used by Monne (coins 848, 849 below).

Obverse 5 also used by Brother.

Reverse 1 also found with Æthelred obverses (coins 466, 483, 484 above).

Reverse 2 also found with Æthelred obverse (coins 481, 482 above).

Reverse 3 also found with Æthelred obverse.

Reverse 5 also found with Æthelred obverse.

*Moneyer Hwætnoth*

- |                |   |              |       |
|----------------|---|--------------|-------|
| 1. +REDVLF REX | ✠ | 1. +HVAETNDD | Cross |
|                |   | 2. *+HAVELD  | Cross |

1/1 = 837, 1/2 = 838



*Moneyer Monne*

1. +REDVLF REX	Cross	1. +MOIINE	Pellet
2. +REDVLF REX	Cross	2. *+WONNÆ	⋄
3. +REDVLF REX	Cross	3. *+WONNÆ	⋄
4. +ERELVDER	Cross	4. *+WONNÆ	⋄
5. +ERELVDER	Cross	5. +MOHNE	Pellet
6. +REDVL RE	⋄	6. *+WONNÆ	⋄
		7. +MOIINE	Cross

1/1 = 839, 840, 2/2 = 841, 2/3 = 842, 2/4 = 843, 3/5 = 844, 4/6 = 845, 846, 5/6 = 847, 6/7 = 848, 849

Obverse 1 also used by Cuthberht (coin 826 above), Eanred and Fordred (coins 832, 833 above).

Obverse 3 also used by Cuthberht (coin 827 above).

Obverse 6 also used by Fordred (coin 835 above).

Reverse 1 also found with Æthelred obverse (coin 699 above).

Reverse 2 also found with Æthelred obverse.

Reverse 5 also found with Æthelred obverses (coins 632 and 678 above).

Reverse 6 also found with Æthelred obverse.

Reverse 7 also found with Æthelred obverse.

*Moneyer Wendelberht*

1. +REDVVLF REX	Cross	1. +VEIÐEΓBER·HT	Cross
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1/1 = 850

Reverse 1 also found with Æthelred obverses (coins 739, 740, and 752 above).

*Moneyer 'Nerred'*

1. +REDVLF RE	⋄	1. *+NEBBED	Cross
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1/1 = 851.

Obverse 1 also used by Brother (coin 817 above), Coenred, Fordred (coins 829–31 above), Monne and Odilo.

## ÆTHELRED

## Second Reign

*Moneyers Eardwulf, Fordred, Odilo*

1. +EDILRED RE::X	⋄	1. *+EVBDAAΓE	○
2. +EDILRED REX	⋄	2. +EARDVVLF	○
3. +EDIL·RED RE-	⋄	3. +EARDVVLF	⊕
4. +EDILRED RE-	⊕	4. *+EVBDAAΓE	⋄
5. *+EDIΓBED BEX	⋄	5. +EARDVVLF:	⋄
6. +EDIL·RED REX	○	6. +EARDVVLF:	⋄
7. +EDILRED REX	⊗	7. +EARDVVLF	○
8. +EDILRED RE-	○	8. +EARDVVLF	○
9. +EDILRED REX	⋄	9. +EARDVVLF	⊕
10. +EDILRED REX	⊕	10. +EARDVVLF	⋄
11. +EDILRED RE-	⋄	11. +EARDVVL·F	○
12. +EDILRED REX	⋄	12. +EARDVVLF	⋄
13. +EDILRED REX	⊕	13. +EARDVVLF	⊗
14. +EDILRED RE-	⋄	14. +EARDVVLF	⊗
15. +EDILRED REX	⋄	15. +EARDVVLF	⊗

16. +EDIL:RED RE	✱	16. *+EVBEAΛΓE	✱
17. +EDILRED RE	✱	17. +EΛR·DVVL·F	○
18. +EDIL:RED RE	○	18. *+EO:ΒQBED	✱ (Fordred)
19. +EDILRED RE	✱	19. *+ODI:ΓO	✱ (Odilo)
20. +EDI·L:RED RE	○	20. +EΛRDVVLF	○
21. +EDILRED REX	⊕	21. +EΛRDVVLF	○
22. +EDILRED REX	⊕	22. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
23. +EDILRED REX	✱	23. +EΛRDVVLF	○
24. +EDILRED REX	⊕	24. +EΛRDVVLF	○
25. +EDIL:RED REX	✱	25. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
26. +EDINIED IEX	Cross	26. +EΛRDVVLF	○
27. +EDILRED REX	⊕	27. +EΛRDVVLF	○
28. +EDILRED REX	✱	28. +EΛRDVVLF	○
29. +EDILRED REX	✱	29. +EΛRDVVLF	○
30. +EDILRED REX	⊕	30. +EΛRDVVLF:	✱
31. +EDILRED REX	Cross	31. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
32. +EDILRED REX	⊕	32. +EΛRDVVLF	○
33. +EDILRED REX	⊕	33. +EΛ:RDVVLE	✱
34. +EDILRED REX	⊕	34. +EΛRDVVLFDE	✱
35. +EDILRED REX	○	35. +EΛRDVVLF	○
36. +EDILRED REX	✱	36. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
37. +EDILRED RE	○	37. +E·Λ·RDVVLE	✱
38. +EDILRED REX	✱	38. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
39. *+EDIFBED BEX	○	39. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
40. *+EDIFBED BEX	⊕	40. +EΛRDVVLF	○
41. *+EDILRED RE-	✱	41. +EΛRDVVLF	Cross
		42. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		43. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		44. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		45. +EΛRDVVLF	○
		46. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		47. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		48. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		49. +EΛ·RDVVLF	✱
		50. +EΛRDVVLF	○
		51. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		52. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		53. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		54. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		55. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		56. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		57. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		58. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		59. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		60. +EΛRDVVLF	Cross
		61. +EΛRDVVLF	Cross
		62. +EΛRDVVLF	Pellet
		63. +EΛRDVVLF	Cross
		64. +EΛRDVVLF	✱
		65. +EΛRDVVLF	✱

66. +EARDVVLF	○
67. +EΛ·RDVV·F	⋈
68. +EARDVV F	Pellet
69. +EARDVV F	⋈
70. +EΛ·RDVVLF	⋈
71. +EARDVV F	⋈
72. +EARDVVLE	⋈
73. +EARDVVLF	⋈
74. +EARDVVLF	⋈
75. +EARDVVLF	⋈
76. +EARDVVLF	○
77. +EARDVF	Cross
78. +EARDVVLF	○
79. *+EVBDΛΛΓΕ	○
80. +EARDVVLF	⊕

1/1 = 852, 1/2 = 853, 1/3 = 854, 1/4 = 855-7, 2/5 = 858, 2/6 = 859, 2/7 = 860, 861, 2/8 = 862, 3/9 = 863, 3/10 = 864, 3/11 = 865, 3/12 = 866, 4/13 = 867, 868, 4/14 = 869, 4/15 = 870, 5/16 = 871, 872, 6/17 = 873, 6/18 = 874, 6/19 = 875, 7/20 = 876, 7/21 = 877, 878, 7/22 = 879, 8/23 = 880, 8/24 = 881, 9/25 = 882, 9/26 = 883, 10/27 = 884, 10/26 = 885, 10/25 = 886, 887, 11/26 = 888-90, 11/28 = 891, 12/29 = 892, 13/30 = 893, 13/31 = 894, 895, 14/30 = 896, 14/32 = 897, 15/33 = 898, 16/34 = 899, 900, 17/34 = 901, 18/35 = 902, 903, 19/36 = 904, 20/37 = 905, 21/38 = 906, 22/39 = 907, 23/40 = 908, 23/41 = 909, 24/42 = 910, 24/43 = 911, 24/44 = 912, 24/45 = 913, 914, 24/46 = 915, 24/unclassified (+E ..... F ⋈) = 916, 24/47 = 917-19, 24/48 = 920, 921, 24/49 = 922, 923, 25/49 = 924, 26/44 = 925, 27/50 = 926-8, 27/51 = 929-31, 27/52 = 932, 27/53 = 933, 934, 28/53 = 935, 936, 28/54 = 937-40, 28/55 = 941, 28/56 = 942, 943, unclassified (type ⋈, otherwise illegible)/56 = 944, 29/57 = 945, 30/58 = 946, 31/58 = 947-9, 31/59 = 950, 31/60 = 951, 31/61 = 952, 31/62 = 953, 31/63 = 954, 32/64 = 955, 33/64 = 956, 957, 33/65 = 958-61, 34/65 = 962, 35/66 = 963-6, 35/67 = 967, 35/68 = 968, 969, 35 (inner circle recut)/69 = 970, 971, 36/70 = 972, 36/71 = 973, 36/72 = 974, 36/73 = 975, 37/74 = 976, 977, 37/75 = 978-80, 37/76 = 981-3, 38/77 = 984, 985, 38/unclassified (.EAR..... ?) = 986, 39/78 = 987, 39/79 = 988, 40/79 = 989-91, 41/80 = 992, unclassified (die as last, but brockage)/unclassified (....DVVL·F⊕) = 993, unclassified (.....D RE. ?)/unclassified (....DVVL F ?) = 994, unclassified (type ⋈, otherwise illegible)/unclassified (\*.....ΛΛΓΕ ⋈) = 995, unclassified (.....ED... ⋈)/unclassified (+EARD...F ⋈) = 996, unclassified (+EDILRED REX ?)/unclassified (+EΛ.....?) = 997, unclassified (type ⊕, otherwise illegible)/unclassified (+EAR..... ⋈) = 998

Obverse 1 also found with Fordred, Odilo, Wulfred, and derivative reverses.

Obverse 4 also found with Wulfred reverse.

Obverse 11 also found with Wulfred reverse.

Reverse 57 found in later state with derivative obverses (coins 1141 and 1144 below).

#### *Moneys Eanwulf, Eardwulf, Monne*

1. +EDILRED REX	⋈	1. *+EΛBDΛΛΓΕ	Cross	(Eardwulf)
2. +EDILBED BE	⋈	2. *+EVBDΛΛΓΕ	Cross	(Eardwulf)
3. *+EDIG·BE B	⋈	3. *+EVBDΛΛΓΕ	⋈	(Eardwulf)
4. *+DIGÆD RÆ	Cross	4. +EVNIE	⋈	(Eanwulf)
5. *+DIGÆD RÆ	Cross	5. *·M·O·NIXE	Pellet	(Monne)
6. +EDILBED BE	⋈	6. +EVNIG·E	⋈	(Eanwulf)
		7. +EVNIG·E·	⋈	(Eanwulf)
		8. *+EΛBDΛΛΓΕ	⊕	(Eardwulf)
		9. *+·MOENI	Cross	(Monne)
		10. *+·M·INÆ	Pellet	(Monne)
		11. +EVNIG·E	Cross	(Eanwulf)
		12. +EVNIAΛΓCX	Cross	(Eanwulf)

13. +WONNE	⊙	(Monne)
14. *+MOIINÉ	Pellet	(Monne)
15. *+MO·INÉ	⋈	(Monne)

1/1 = 999, 1/2 = 1000, 1/3 = 1001, 2/4 = 1002, 2/5 = 1003, 1004, 3/6 = 1005, 3/7 = 1006, 3/8 = 1007, 3/9 = 1008, 1009, 3/10 = 1010, 4/11 = 1011, 5/12 = 1012, 6/13 = 1013, 6/14 = 1014, 6/15 = 1015

Obverse 1 also found with derivative reverse.

Obverse 3 also found with derivative reverse, reading 'Herreth'.

Reverse 3 also found with derivative obverses.

Reverse 9 also found with Osberht obverse.

Reverse 10 also found with Osberht obverse.

Reverse 11 also found with Osberht obverse (coin 1028 below).

Reverse 12 also found with Osberht obverse.

Reverse 13 also found with Osberht obverse.

Reverse 15 also found with Osberht obverses (coins 1021 and 1039 below).

## OSBERHT

*Moneys Eanwulf, Monne, and related reverse*

1. O2BERCH+EX	Cross	1. +EVI:·ΛΓΕ	Pellet	(Eanwulf)
2. O2BVCH+ B7X	⋈	2. +EV:·VVVΓΕ	⋈	(Eanwulf)
3. *OSBERΓHJ	⋈	3. +E·VNNΓΕ	Pellet	(Eanwulf)
4. O2BVCHJ BEX	⋈	4. +·E:·V·I·Λ·Λ·Γ·Ε	⋈	(Eanwulf)
5. O2BEREHJ BE·	⋈	5. *+MO·INÉ	⋈	(Monne)
6. O2BEBCHECX	Cross	6. +E·V·N·Λ·Λ·Γ·Ε	Cross	(Eanwulf)
7. O2BECH ΛEX	Cross	7. +E·V·I·Λ·Λ·Γ·Ε:	⋈	(Eanwulf)
8. O2BEBHJ B·:	Pellet	8. +B·V·I·Λ·Λ·Γ·Ε	⋈	(Eanwulf)
		9. +E·V·I·I·Γ·Ε	Cross	(Eanwulf)
		10. +E·V·I·Λ·Γ·Ε	⋈	(Eanwulf)
		11. +VONIF	⋈	(Monne)
		12. +E·V·N·N·Γ·Ε	Pellet	(Eanwulf)
		13. *+MONIÉ	Pellet	(Monne)
		14. *+M·INÉ	Cross	(Monne)
		15. +WONNE+	Cross	(Monne)
		16. +MOIINE	⋈	(Monne)
		17. +BAN·V·LF	Cross	(Eanwulf)
		18. *+BANVLF	Cross	(Eanwulf)
		19. +E·V·I·Λ·Λ·Γ·Ε	Cross	(Eanwulf)
		20. +ANRED RE	Pellet	—

1/1 = 1016, 1017, 1/2 = 1018, 1/3 = 1019, 1/4 = 1020, 1/5 = 1021, 2/6 = 1022, 2/7 = 1023, 1024, 2/8 = 1025-7, 3/9 = 1028, 3/10 = 1029, 3/11 = 1030, 1031, 4/12 = 1032, 4/13 = 1033-6, 4/14 = 1037, 1038, 4/5 = 1039, 4/15 = 1040, 1041, 5/16 = 1042, 6/17 = 1043, 7/18 = 1044, 8/19 = 1045, 8/20 = 1046

Obverse 2 also found with Monne reverses.

Obverse 4 also found with derivative reverse, reading 'Herred'.

Reverse 4 also found with Æthelred obverse.

Reverse 5 also found with Æthelred obverse (coin 1015 above).

Reverse 9 also found with Æthelred obverse (coin 1011 above).

Reverse 16 also found with Æthelred obverse.

Reverse 19 also found with Æthelred obverse.



*Moneyer Ethelhelm*

1. *+OI∞EH↓ X	⋄	1. +EDEFHEΓH	⊙
2. +O∞BBEH↓	Cross	2. +EDEFHEΓW	⋄
3. +OI∞EH+ X	⋄	3. +EDEFHEΓH	⋄
4. +O2BBEH↓	Cross	4. +EDEFHEΓW	Cross
5. +O2BBE [...]	Cross	5. +EDELHEUW	⋄
		6. +EDEFHEΓW	⋄
		7. +EDEFHEΓW	Cross

1/1 = 1047, 1/2 = 1048, 1049, 1/3 = 1050-3, 2/4 = 1054, 1055, 3/5 = 1056, 4/6 = 1057-9, unclassified (illegible)/6 = 1060, 5/7 = 1061

Reverse 5 also found with derivative 'reverses', reading 'Eardwulf' or similar.

*Moneyer Winiberht*

1. OSBEKEHT	Pellet	1. ΛINIBEBH↓	Cross
2. O2BEKCH↓ BF	⊕	2. ...JIBEBH↓	⋄
3. OSBEKH EX	⋄	3. ΛNIBEBH↓	Cross
4. OSBEKCH↓ E	⋄	4. Λ'·IINIBEBH↓	⋄
5. OSBEKEH↓ REX	⋄	5. ΛINIBEBH↓	⋄
6. OSBEKCH↓ BF	⋄	6. IIN'·IBEBH↓	✱
7. OSB·EBKCH↓ RΓ	Cross	7. ΛINIBEBH'·↓	⋄
8. O2BEKCH'·↓ BE	⋄	8. ΛIINIBEBH'·↓	⋄
9. O2BEKCH↓ BE	⋄	9. ΛINIBEBH↓	⊙
		10. ΛIINIBEBH↓	⊙
		11. ΛIINIBEBH↓	⊙
		12. ΛIINIBEBH↓	⋄
		13. ΛIINIBEBH↓	⋄
		14. ΛINIBEBHT	⋄

1/1 = 1062, 1/2 = 1063, 1/3 = 1064, 2/4 = 1065, 1066, 3/5 = 1067, 3/6 = 1068, 3/7 = 1069, 4/8 = 1070, 1071, 5/9 = 1072, 6/10 = 1073, 7/11 = 1074, 8/12 = 1075, 9/13 = 1076, 9/14 = 1077

*Moneyer Wulfsixt, and related reverses*

1. O2BEKH↑ B	Cross	1. +VVL FZIX↑	Cross
2. +O2BEHR↑	⊙	2. +VVL FZIX'·	⊙
3. +O2BERH↑ RE	⊙	3. *+ΛΛLES+I↓	⋄
4. O2BERH↑ R	Cross	4. +VVEZL+T	
5. +O2BERH↑·BE	⊕	5. +YHTVD E	⋄
6. +O2BERH↑ RE	⊙	6. *+EIBB'·H'·	Cross
7. *OSJB3REH EX	⋄	7. *+EIGΛV·D	Cross
8. *+O2BEKEH↓	⋄		
9. *O2BERH'·B	Pellet		

1/1 = 1078, 2/1 = 1079, 3/1 = 1080, 4/1 = 1081, 5/1 = 1082, 6/2 = 1083, 7/3 = 1084, 8/4 = 1085, 9/4 = 1086, 9/5 = 1087, 9/6 = 1088, 1089, 7/7 = 1090.

Obverse 9 is also found with 'Eardwulf', 'Ethelhelm', and 'Wulfred' reverses; the last of these is a regular reverse found with Abp. Wulfhere obverse, while the others may be derivative. It is also found with an apparent Osberht obverse die normally found with Reverse 1; the explanation may be that this and Obverses 1-5 are really reverses and Reverse 1 really an obverse, as the die pairing below indicates.

Reverse 1 also found with Reverse 4.

Reverse 5 also found with derivative obverse, reading 'Edilred Re' (coin 1182 below).

Reverse 6 also found in modified form with derivative obverses.

## COINS DERIVATIVE OF REGAL SERIES

*Struck from dies represented in Hexham hoard*

1. +EVXDIRE	Cross	1. +VERHEID	✱
2. +ГНЕВН	Pellet	2. +FHQVEF	Cross
3. *+EVNB·E:.	Cross	3. +EHVLT	Cross
4. +HELVA:E	✱	4. +Э·A·R·V·Nİ	✱
5. +HETVV	Cross	5. +LHIEDV	Cross
6. +·:·A·ENAD	Cross	6. +ЭHDAВВC	Cross
		7. +ADVE+Э	*

1/1 = 1091, 1092, 1/2 = 1093, 2/3 = 1094, 3/4 = 1095, 4/5 = 1096, 5/6 = 1097, 6/7 = 1098

*Struck from dies similar to dies represented in Hexham hoard*

1. *+EV·:·N·:·V·IC	Cross	1. *+HEBBED	Cross
2. *+[·]DAN·E	Cross	2. +NEBBED	Cross
3. +ENQ REX	Cross	3. *+XELNED·	Cross
4. +EVN+AD	Cross	4. +ETVEI[·]	Cross
5. +ERIVRED	✱	5. +AHGXNEF	Cross
6. +FV[...]+	Cross	6. +E[...]	Cross

1/1 = 1099, 2/2 = 1100, 3/3 = 1101, 1102, 4/4 = 1103, 5/5 = 1104, 1105, 6/6 = 1106

Obverses 1-4 and Reverses 1-4 are from dies very close to dies known to have been represented in Hexham, and are probably of pre-Hexham date.

Obverse 5 is influenced by the existence of coins of Æthelred and may be of post-Hexham date, though Reverse 5 is similar to a die found with an Eanred obverse normally found with Erwinne, Monne, and Wihtrud reverses, which shows that these dies cannot be much later in date than Hexham.

Obverse 6 and Reverse 6 are of uncertain date but belong here more naturally than elsewhere.

*Struck from dies dating from Æthelred's second reign and later*

1. +EDILRED R	✱	1. +EARDALLF	Star
2. +EDIL·RED ER	✱	2. ·EVRDALLF	Pellet
3. *+EDIG·BED B	Pellet	3. EARD·ALLF	✱
4. *+EDIG·BED·:·E	Pellet	4. EA·RDVVΓ	Pellet
5. *+·DITRED RE	Pellet	5. *+E·AB·VV·Γ·E·	Pellet
6. *EIGBEIGBDE	✱	6. +EARDVVΓ	Pellet
7. +EDIL·RED E	✱	7. *+EVBDALLF	✱
8. EDILRED REX	✱	8. +E·A·RDVVΓ	✱
9. EDILRED DEX	✱	9. +EARDVVΓ	Pellet
10. *+EDIGBED BEX	○	10. +EVRDVVF	Pellet
11. +EIL·:·RED RE	✱	11. +EA·RDVVΓ	Pellet
12. *+EIIIJUEA	✱	12. ·EARDMLF	Pellet
13. +EAHRE·:·D:	Cross	13. +EA·DVIMI	Cross
14. *+IIBED BE	✱	14. *+EVBDALLF F	Star
15. +EDILRED EX	✱	15. *AA·DNDLΓ	Cross
16. +EVI·V·ID·	✱	16. +EARDVVLE	Cross
17. *+EDIGLN·E	✱	17. *EVRDALLF	Star
18. *+EGBED BEX	✱	18. *EVRDVVF	Star
19. *+EGBED B·:·E	Pellet	19. *+EABDALLF	✱
20. +EDLIDEXD	✱	20. *+EABDALLF	✱
21. *+EDIGBEDX	Cross	21. +EVRDALLF	✱
22. +EDDEDEX	Cross	22. +EARDVVLF:	✱

23. *+EDΓBED BE	⊗	23. *+ΛΛ[.]ΔΛΓΔ	Cross
24. *+EIGBE.:D BE	⊗	24. *+EVBDΛΛΓE	Cross
25. +VEDIGIIE	⊗	25. +EARDVVLF	⊗
26. *+IIΛIGLE	⊗	26. +EARDVVLF	Cross
27. +EDILRED X	⊗	27. +ELEDVVLF	Cross
28. *+VEDEDE	⋮	28. *+DDI.:ΓO	Cross
29. *+EDIGBED BE	⊗	29. *+EYDDEΛΛΔ	Cross
30. *+EDIGBED BE	⋮	30. *+E.:VDΛINI	Cross
31. +EDIGBED BE	⊗	31. +EDLVEAD.:	Cross
32. +EDILRED REX	⊗	32. *+EYDΛIHI	Cross
33. +EDILRED REX	⊗	33. +EVVQYΛΓF	⊗
34. *+EDIGBED BEV	Cross	34. +EADIVV	⊗
35. *+EDIGBED BEX	Cross	35. *+LI.:BED	⊗
36. *+[...].II.FIIBIIM	Cross	36. +EDEFN+MV	⊗
37. *+EDB.:EDIIBE	⊗	37. +E[...].I	⊗
38. *+EDVED BII	⊗	38. +EDEΓ.HEHH	Cross
39. +EVN.:BED D	⊗	39. *+ΛΛΓE.BED	Cross
40. +EVNRED R	⋮	40. +YHTVDΞ	⊗
41. +V[....]XI	⊗	41. *+IIE.U.EQ	Cross
42. *+.JEIDE[.]	Cross	42. *+ΛΛΓ.FU[.]	⊗
43. *+EDIG.:BED BE	⊕	43. *+EVDEΛΛ	⊗
44. +ENRED REX.:.	⊕	44. *+[.]ΛΛΓE[.]	Cross
45. *+ +EVIBED	Cross	45. *+EAAAAIE	⊗
46. *+ΞΛBDAL	⋮	46. +EAAAAIE	Cross
47. *+EVBDAAF	⊗	47. *+EAAAABE	⊗
48. *+EDELHER	⋮	48. *+.:+.:EILΛΛI	⊗
49. *+EDEΓBED	⋮	49. *+.:EΔAAAIE	Cross
50. *+EDELHΛLED	⊗	50. *+.:E.AN+LE	⊗
51. *+EDLHDΓW	⊗	51. *+IINADIE	⊗
52. *+EIG.:BED BE	Cross	52. *+E[....	⋮
53. *+.:IG.BED BE.	⊗	53. *+AEI.BIAIDΞ	⊗
54. *+EV.BED BI	⋮	54. +MONNIEΞ	⊗
55. *+EVBDV/Æ:I	⋮	55. *+EDBJNBE	Cross
56. *EDIG.BE.D V	Cross	56. *+EI/3RB.+.:.	Cross
57. *+EDIG.BD.EB.	Cross	57. +EBEΓI+ECI	⊗
58. *+EDIGBED B.E	Cross	58. +[.]DDVΓE	⊗
59. *+EDIGBED ILX	⋮	59. *+WO.N.:I.E	⊗
60. *+EDIGBED BEX	⋮	60. +HV.:ETRD	Cross
61. *+EDIIBEAD+	Cross	61. +VVΞFRΞD	Cross
62. *+EDIIBEAD+	Cross	62. *+ΛΛΓE.BED	Cross
63. *+EDIG.BED	⋮	63. *+OD.:I.Γ.O	Cross
64. *+EDIG.:BED BX	⊗	64. *+ODIGO	Cross
65. *+EDI.:Γ.:BED	Cross	65. *+EOWΛID	⋮
66. *+EΛ+D.:ΔΛΓ.:E	⊗	66. *+ODIGO	Cross
67. *+EΛ+D.:ΔΛΓ.:E	⊗	67. *+IDΛ.:ΓO	Cross
68. +EDREDIGF	Cross	68. *+LRA.:ΓE	Cross
69. *+EΛ+DΛIGE	⊗	69. +EREED	Pellet
70. +EDΞLBEX	⊗	70. *+MONNE	Cross
71. *+EEEEIAIDE	Cross	71. *+EBDΛΛΓ.:E.	⊗
72. *XENVVEDVΞ	⊗	72. *+ΛΛΓE.BED	○
73. *+EBI+BE	⊗	73. +EARDVV	Cross
74. *+DEBNO	⊗	74. *+EVBDVΓEH	Pellet
75. +EDILDE	⊗	75. *+EV.BDΛΛΓF	⋮
76. +EDIGRED RE	⋮	76. +EVRDVVLE	Cross
77. *+EDIGRED RE	⊗	77. +EABDVVLF	Cross

78. *+EDIGRED M·	⊗	78. +EVRDVVL	Cross
79. *+EDIGBED BE	⊗	79. *+E·DIG·BED BE	Cross
80. *+EDELHELH	⋮	80. *+MOIN·B·	⋮
81. *+EOEIVE	⊗	81. +EARDVVLE	Cross
82. +·EDTIREI·	Cross	82. *+EVBDVVLE	Cross
83. *DFOAΓID	Cross	83. *+EVBDAAΓE	Cross
84. +VVED·E	Cross	84. +EAB·DVVLE	Cross
85. +·V·V·V·V·V	Cross	85. *+EVBDAAΓE	Cross
86. *+CHDCAOE	Cross	86. +IR·EVD+	Cross
87. *+EDIGBED BE	⊗	87. *+D·F·F·D	⊗
88. *+EHDFAOΓ	⊕	88. *+EADAI·	Cross
89. *+HAE·LBD	Cross	89. *+EADVINI	⊗
90. *+HA·ETRD	Cross	90. *+EIBED·E	⊗
91. *+BV[·]HD	Cross	91. *+IEI·AADL·	⊗
92. +ERV·D	⊗	92. *+EVBDVVE	Cross
93. ⊗[...·]ERN	⊙	93. *+EDIGBED+	Cross
94. *+BOBER	Cross	94. *+AANDVE	Cross
95. +RD·ΠO·	⊙	95. *+EABD·II·A·	⊗
96. *HALB+ED	Cross	96. *ALABED	⋮
97. *+[·]DLHE[·]?	Cross	97. *+AABBED	Cross
98. *+EDIID[·]DX	⊗	98. *+·B··OE··I	Cross
99. +VRII·IV	⊗	99. +EDVN·	Cross
100. +VRA···EV	⋮	100. *+BAOWA	Cross
101. +IIII·IVIF	Cross	101. VV·J·RED	Cross
102. +VRII·IV	⊗	102. *+EIDBO·	⊗
103. +EDAI·I·BE	⊗	103. *+ODIGO	⊗
104. *IIDALE·	Cross	104. *EV··BDAA	⊗
105. *+EVBDAAΓ··E	⊗	105. *+ABDAA·EO	⊗
106. *+EAD·EΓN	Cross	106. *+EVD·I·NI	Cross
107. *+E·A··I·AA·Q·A·	⊗	107. *+WON·IE	⊗
108. +E·V·IE·V·DEX	⊗	108. *+E·I·+·O·	Cross
109. +[—·—·]	⊗	109. *+A·IE·+·BB	Cross
110. +E·H·I·D·+	⊗	110. *+OLD·AH	Cross
111. *+A·I·Γ·H·E·V·+	⊗	111. +EM·NO·I	⋮
112. *+EAD·I·V·V	Cross	112. *+EB·B·I·D·BE	Cross
113. *+[...]BE·I··	Pellet	113. *+··X··EDIGBED	⊗
114. *+E·A·DE·Γ·I	⋮	114. *+EVBDAAΓE	⋮
115. *+[·]E·A·B·E·B	Cross	115. *+EVBDAA·E	⊗
116. *+[·]Γ··E·BE[·]	Cross	116. *+VV·Γ·E·BED	Cross
117. +V·V·L···E[··	Cross	117. +Γ·A·RD·V·V	Cross
118. +E·I·I·RE[D·]REI	Cross	118. *+EVBDAAΓE	⋮
119. *+EDILBED	Cross	119. *+WON·NE	⊗
120. *+ED[··]E·DE	Cross	120. *+EDIGBED	⊗
121. *+EDILBED B	⊗	121. *+I·O·I·I···E	⋮
122. *+E·B·IE·B·D	Cross	122. *+COENBED	Cross
123. *+E·DE·Γ·RED·IE	⊗	123. +E[··]I·I·D·I·T	Cross
124. *+V·E··B·B·A	⋮	124. *+DE·B·B·O	⋮
125. +D·VE·VED·	⊗	125. +HO·A·V·D··E·	Cross
126. *+E·A·I·BED·BE	Cross	126. +O·A·V·D··E·	Cross
127. *+EVBN[...]	Cross	127. +O·V·H[·]·E·	Cross
		128. *+L·D···H·O	⊙
		129. *+E·H·A·O·D·B	Cross
		130. +[...·]	Cross
		131. +[··]N·I·E	Cross



132.	*+FΓΛΛQΒ	Cross
133.	+ΒΞΟΜRE	Cross
134.	*+ΟΔΙΓΟ	Cross
135.	*+ΟΘΗΓΟ	Cross
136.	*+ΔΕΒΟΕ	○
137.	*+ΕΛΒD[...]	Cross
138.	+ΙΙVΞΙD V	⊕
139.	*+ΕΓD·CΓD	Cross
140.	+·E[... ]VE	⊕
141.	+VEDIHI	⊕
142.	+EVDIII	Pellet
143.	*+ΕΛΒIII D·E	⊕
144.	*[... ]IID[...]	⊕
145.	*+DII BNIJ	Cross
146.	*+ΕΛΛII DΛ	⊕
147.	+II OI EN	⋮
148.	..]ID V[..	⊕
149.	+DVEVEV	⊕
150.	+IIIEV[...]	⊕
151.	+EIIIDD V I I	⊕
152.	+EIIID[...]	⊕
153.	*+·V MONB·	⋮
154.	*EDIIBELQΔ	Cross
155.	*+IΔQEII	⊕
156.	*+EΔIIVID	⊕
157.	+IIVDVΞ	⋮
158.	+EVDVNΞ	⋮
159.	*[... ]IIB·EΒ[..	⊕
160.	+VDIHE	⊕
161.	*+ΕΛΒDΛΛΓE	⋮
162.	*+ΕVBDΛIIΓ·I	⊕
163.	*+ΕV I DΛΓ	⋮
164.	+ΞI I D V I	Cross
165.	+..]ID[...]	⊕
166.	+I[... ]VID·	⊕
167.	+VΞI I I E I D	⊕
168.	+[..]VHIID	Cross
169.	+V[.]VΞII	Cross
170.	+IIVΞD·V	Cross
171.	+P·CFRΞI	Cross
172.	[... ]IINE	⊕
173.	+EΛ·N·HX	Pellet
174.	*+EΛ[... ]X	Cross
175.	+ERVVIX	Cross
176.	*[... ]VBDΛΛ[.]	?
177.	*+EΛDΓI	⋮
178.	*+MOIINE	Cross
179.	+VVL·:·ΞRV	Cross
180.	*+ΛΛΓFBE	○
181.	+VV[...]	Cross
182.	+Ξ[.]I D V	Cross
183.	+EΛYD V Ξ	Cross
184.	+EΛ[... ]VΞ	Cross
185.	*+[... ]XVΓE	Pellet
186.	*+ΕVBDΛΛΓ	⊕

187. +H[... ]RV	⋈
188. *+VVIF :.[...]	?
189. *+ΛIGHEHH	q
190. *+DEΓAAED	Cross
191. *+EVDΓAIE	⋈
192. *. EDIGBED B	⋈
193. *+AAΓEDED	Cross
194. *+AEDFAΓ	⋈
195. *+EBDAIAA	⋈
196. +EVRV[...]	⋈
197. +EDVV[...]	Cross
198. *+EDAAEB	⋈
199. *+WONIE	Cross

1/1 = 1107, 1/2 = 1108-10, 1/3 = 1111, 1112, 2/3 = 1113, 2/4 = 1114, 3/3 = 1115-17, 3/5 = 1118, 4/6 = 1119, 4/7 = 1120, 4/8 = 1121, unclassified (illegible)/8 = 1122, 1123, 5/9 = 1124, 5/10 = 1125, 6/11 = 1126, 6/7 = 1127, 7/12 = 1128, 7/13 = 1129, 1130, 8/14 = 1131, 9/15 = 1132, 9/16 = 1133, 10/17 = 1134, 10/18 = 1135, 11/19 = 1136, 11/20 = 1137, 12/19 = 1138, 13/20 = 1139, 14/21 = 1140, 15/22 = 1141, 15/23 = 1142, 15/24 = 1143, 16/22 = 1144, 17/25 = 1145, 17/26 = 1146-9, 18/26 = 1150-2, 19/27 = 1153, 19/28 = 1154, 1155, 20/28 = 1156-8, 21/29 = 1159-61, 22/30 = 1162, 22/31 = 1163, 23/31 = 1164, 1165, 24/32 = 1166-9, 24/33 = 1170, 25/32 = 1171, 1172, 26/34 = 1173, 27/35 = 1174, 28/35 = 1175, 29/36 = 1176, unclassified (illegible)/36 = 1177, 29/37 = 1178, 30/38 = 1179, 31/39 = 1180, 1181, 31/40 = 1182, 31/unclassified (illegible) = 1183, 32/41 = 1184, 32/42 = 1185, 32/43 = 1186, 1187, 32/44 = 1188, 33/45 = 1189-92, 34/45 = 1193, 35/46 = 1194, 35/unclassified (illegible) = 1195, 36/47 = 1196, 1197, 36/43 = 1198-1203, 37/43 = 1204, 37/48 = 1205, 1206, 37/49 = 1207, 37/50 = 1208-12, 37/51 = 1213-15, unclassified (illegible)/48 = 1216, 38/48 = 1217, 38/52 = 1218, 38/53 = 1219, 1220, 38/54 = 1221, 38/55 = 1222-4, 39/55 (later state) = 1225, 1226, 39/56 = 1227, 39/57 = 1228, 1229, 40/57 (recut) = 1230, 40/unclassified (illegible) = 1231, 41/55 = 1232, 42/58 = 1233, 43/59 = 1234, 43/60 = 1235, 1236, 43/61 = 1237, 43/62 = 1238, 43/unclassified (illegible) = 1239, 44/63 = 1240, 45/64 = 1241, 46/65 = 1242, 1243, 46/unclassified (illegible) = 1244, 46/66 = 1245, 1246, 46/67 = 1247, 1248, 47/65 = 1249, 47/68 = 1250, 47/69 = 1251, unclassified (illegible)/69 = 1252, 48/68 = 1253, 49/70 = 1254-6, 50/71 = 1257-9, 50/72 = 1260-2, 51/72 = 1263-6, 51/71 = 1267, 52/71 = 1268, 53/73 = 1269, 54/74 = 1270, 55/75 = 1271, 56/75 = 1272, 56/76 = 1273, 56/77 = 1274, 56/78 = 1275, 56/79 = 1276, 56/80 = 1277-9, 57/81 = 1280, 58/82 = 1281, 59/83 = 1282, 60/84 = 1283, 61/85 = 1284, 61/unclassified (illegible) = 1285, 61/86 = 1286, 61/87 = 1287, 1288, 61/88 = 1289, 62/89 = 1290, 62/90 = 1291, 63/91 = 1292, 63/unclassified (type ⋈, otherwise illegible) = 1293, 63/92 = 1294, 63/93 = 1295, 64/93 = 1296, 64/94 = 1297, 1298, 65/95 = 1299, 66/88 = 1300, 1301, 66/95 = 1302, 67/90 = 1303, 67/96 = 1304, 67/97 = 1305, 67/98 = 1306, 68/96 = 1307, 68/unclassified (\*+EVB[Λ]D[... ⋈) = 1308, 69/99 = 1309, 1310, 69/100 = 1311, 69/101 = 1312, 70/98 = 1313, 70/102 = 1314, 70/103 = 1315, 1316, 70/104 = 1317, 70/105 = 1318, 70/106 = 1319, 71/106 = 1320, 72/106 = 1321, 73/105 = 1322, 73/107 = 1323-6, 74/108 = 1327, 1328, 75/36 = 1329, 75/109 = 1330-2, 75/110 = 1333, 76/111 = 1334, 77/112 = 1335, 78/113 = 1336, 79/104 = 1337-8, 79/114 = 1339, 79/115 = 1340, 80/116 = 1341, 81/27 = 1342, 82/117 = 1343, 82/118 = 1344, 82/119 = 1345, 1346, 83/120 = 1347, 84/120 = 1348, 85/121 = 1349, 1350, 86/122 = 1351, 87/122 = 1352, 87/123 = 1353, 88/124 = 1354, 89/125 = 1355-8, 90/125 = 1359, 90/126 = 1360, 90/127 = 1361, 91/128 = 1362, 92/128 = 1363, 92/129 = 1364, 92/130 = 1365, 93/131 = 1366, 94/132 = 1367, 95/133 = 1368, 1369, 95/134 = 1370, 95/135 = 1371, 1372, 96/136 = 1373, 97/137 = 1374, 98/138 = 1375, 98/139 = 1376, 98/unclassified (type cross, otherwise illegible) = 1377, 99/140 = 1378, 99/141 = 1379, 99/142 = 1380, 99/143 = 1381, 1382, 99/144 = 1383, 100/145 = 1384, 101/146 = 1385, 101/147 = 1386, 101/148 = 1387, 1388, 102/149 = 1389, 102/150 = 1390, 102/151 = 1391, 102/152 = 1392, 103/146 (later state) = 1393, 1394, 103/153 = 1395, 103/154 = 1396-9, 103/155 = 1400, 103/156 = 1401, 104/157 = 1402-5, 105/158 = 1406, 105/159 = 1407, 1408, 105/160 = 1409-11, 105/161 = 1412, 105/162 = 1413, 106/163 = 1414, 107/164 = 1415-17, 107/165 = 1418, 107/166 = 1419, 107/167 = 1420, 107/168 = 1421, 1422, 108/162 = 1423-6, 108/169 = 1427, 109/170 = 1428, 1429, 110/171 = 1430-3, 111/172 =

1434, 111/173 = 1435, 111/174 = 1436, 111/175 = 1437, 111/176 = 1438, 111/unclassified (illegible) = 1439, 112/177 = 1440, 113/177 = 1441, 114/178 = 1442-55, 115/179 = 1456, 115/180 = 1457, 116/180 = 1458, 117/180 = 1459, 117/181 = 1460, 118/182 = 1461, 119/183 = 1462, 119/184 = 1463, 119/185 = 1464, 119/186 = 1465, 119/187 = 1466, 119/188 = 1467, 120/189 = 1468, 121/190 = 1469, 122/190 = 1470-2, 122/191 = 1473-5, 123/192 = 1476, 1477, 123/193 = 1478, 123/194 = 1479, 123/195 = 1480, 124/196 = 1481, 125/197 = 1482, 125/198 = 1483, 125/unclassified (illegible) = 1484, 126/199 = 1485, 127/unclassified (\*+E... ?) = 1486, unclassified (type cross, otherwise illegible)/unclassified (illegible) = 1487.

Obverse 7 imitates regular Æthelred second reign obverse die of moneyer Eardwulf.

Obverse 10 is regular Æthelred second reign obverse die of moneyer Eardwulf, analogous to that of coins 987-8, in very old state.

Obverse 33 imitates regular Æthelred second reign obverse die of moneyer Eardwulf.

Obverse 43 imitates regular Æthelred second reign obverse die of moneyer Eardwulf.

Obverse 81 imitates regular reverse die of moneyer Coenred.

Reverse 22 also found with Æthelred second reign obverse (coin 945 above).

Reverse 40 also found with Osberht obverse (coin 1087 above).

Reverse 58 imitates regular reverse die of moneyer Eardwulf.

Reverse 116 is possibly a regular reverse die of moneyer Wulfred intended for use with Abp. Wulfhere obverse.

Reverse 196 imitates regular reverse die of moneyer Eardwulf.

Other derivative obverse and reverse dies draw their inspiration from coins of Æthelred's first and second reigns or other officially struck coins; the dies listed above are singled out as stemming from the official series or as being intended by their engraver to pass as such.

#### COINS OF REGAL OR DERIVATIVE SERIES, NO CLOSER IDENTIFICATION

The hoard contained thirteen coins identifiable as belonging to the regal series or as derivative from it rather than belonging to the archiepiscopal series, but which were not susceptible of an exact identification (coins 1488-1500).

Obverse coin 1488	[...]	⌘	Reverse	+ [W]ONNE	⌘
Obverse coin 1489	Illegible		Reverse	+ MONNE	?
Obverse coin 1490	+ E[...]	?	Reverse	..]AR[..	⌘
Obverse coin 1491	Illegible		Reverse	+ MONNE	?
Obverse coin 1492	..]ON[..	⊙	Reverse		Cross
Obverse coin 1493	..]ED[..	Cross	Reverse	*..]OI[..	?
Obverse coin 1494	*.]EDR[..	?	Reverse	Illegible	
Obverse coin 1495	..]EV[..	⌘	Reverse	+ [...]	?
Obverse coin 1496	Illegible		Reverse	+ [...]ED	?
Obverse coin 1497	[...]	Cross	Reverse	Illegible	
Obverse coin 1498	Illegible		Reverse	.]EVBVV[..	Cross
Obverse coin 1499	[...]	Cross	Reverse	Illegible	
Obverse coin 1500	Illegible		Reverse	..]DE[..	?

#### ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK

##### EANBALD

##### *Moneyer Cunwulf*

1. Die not noted

1. Die not noted

1/1 = 1501

##### *Moneyer Eadwulf*

1. +EĀNBĀLD



1. +EODVVLF



2. +EANBALD AREP



2. +EADVVLF



1/1 = 1502, 2/2 = 1503

## WIGMUND

*Moneyer Coenred*

1. +VIGMVND	Cross	1. +COENRED	Cross
2. +VIGMVND	Cross	2. +COENRED	Cross
3. +VIGMVND	Cross	3. +COENRED	Cross
4. +VIGMVND IRER	Cross	4. +COENRED	Cross
5. +VIGMVND IRER	Cross	5. +COENRED	⋈
6. +VIGMVND IIRER	⋈	6. +COENRED	Cross
7. +VIGMVND IREP	Cross	7. +CONERED	Cross
8. +VIGMVND IREP	⋈	8. +COENRED	Cross
9. +VIGMVND IREP	Cross	9. +CONERED	Cross
10. +VIGMVND IRER	⋈	10. +COENRED	Cross
11. +VIGMVND IRER	Cross	11. +COENRED	Cross
12. +VIGMVND IREP	Cross	12. +COINRED	Cross
13. +VIGMVND IREP	Cross	13. +COENRED	Cross
14. +VIGMVND IREP	Cross	14. +COENRED	Cross
15. +VIGMVND IIREP	⋈	15. +COENRED	Cross
16. +VIGMVND IIREP	⋈	16. +COENRED	Cross
17. +VIGMVND IRER	⋈	17. +COENRED	Cross
18. +VIGMVND IIRER	⋈	18. +COENRED	Cross
19. +VIGMV...	?	19. +[.....]ED	?
		20. +COENRED	Cross
		21. +COENRED	Cross
		22. +COENRED	Cross
		23. +COENRED	Cross
		24. +COENRED	Cross
		25. +COENRED	Cross
		26. +COENRED	Cross
		27. +COENRED	Cross
		28. +COENRED	Cross
		29. +COENRED	Cross
		30. +COENRED	Cross
		31. +COENRED	⋈
		32. +COENRED	Cross
		33. +COENRED	Cross
		34. *+COENRED	Cross
		35. +COENRED	Cross
		36. +COENRED	Cross
		37. +COENRED	Cross
		38. +COENRED	Cross
		39. *+COENRED	Cross
		40. *+COENRED	⋈
		41. +COENRED	Cross
		42. +COENRED	Cross

1/1 = 1504, 1505, 1/2 = 1506-8, 1/3 = 1509, 2/3 = 1510, 3/4 = 1511, 4/5 = 1512, 4/6 = 1513, 1514, 4/7 = 1515, 4/8 = 1516-18, 4/9 = 1519, 5/10 = 1520, 5/11 = 1521, 1522, 6/11 = 1523, 6/12 = 1524, 1525, 7/13 = 1526, 1527, 7/14 = 1528, 1529, 8/15 = 1530, 8/16 = 1531, 9/17 = 1532, 1533, 9/18 = 1534, 9/19 = 1535, 10/20 = 1536-9, 11/21 = 1540, 11/22 = 1541, 11/23 = 1542, 12/24 = 1543, 1544, 12/25 = 1545-8, 12/26 = 1549, 1550, 12/27 = 1551, 13/28 = 1552-4, 14/29 = 1555, 1556, 14/30 = 1557-60, 14/31 = 1561, 14/32 = 1562, 14/unclassified (+COENRED Cross, but details uncertain) = 1563, 15/33 = 1564, 16/34 = 1565, 17/13 = 1566, 17/35 = 1567-9, 17/36 = 1570, 17/37 = 1571, 17/38 = 1572, 17/unclassified (illegible) = 1573, 18/39 = 1574-7, 18/40 = 1578, 19/41 = 1579, unclassified (illegible)/42 = 1580

Obverse 3 also used by Ethelhelm (coins 1605-7 below).



*Moneyer Ethelhelm*

1. +VIGMVND	Cross	1. +EDEFHEGM	Cross
2. +VIGMVND	Cross	2. +EDEFHEGM	Cross
3. +EIGMVND	Cross	3. +EDEFHEGM	Cross
4. +VIGMVND	Cross	4. +EDEFHEGM	Cross
5. +VIGMVND	Cross	5. +EDEFHEGM	Cross
6. +VIGMVND	Cross	6. +EDEFHEGM	Cross
7. +VIGMVND	Cross	7. +EDEFHEGM	Cross
8. +VIGMΛND	Cross	8. +EDEFHEGM	Cross
		9. +EDEFHEGM	Cross
		10. +EDEFHEGM	✠

1/1 = 1581, 1/2 = 1582-6, 1/3 = 1587-9, 2/2 = 1590, 2/4 = 1591, 3/3 = 1592, 3/5 = 1593-5, 3/6 = 1596, 1597, 3/unclassified (+ED[.....]M ?) = 1598, 4/7 = 1599, 1600, 5/8 = 1601, 1602, 5/9 = 1603, 5/unclassified (illegible) = 1604, 6/10 = 1605-7, 7/10 = 1608, 8/10 = 1609, 1610

Obverse 6 also used by Coenred (coin 1511 above).

*Moneyer Ethilveard*

1. +VIGIVND APEP	Cross	1. +EDILVEARD	Cross
2. +VIGIVND AΓEP	Cross	2. +EDILVEARD	Cross
3. +VIGIVND APEP	Cross	3. +EDIΓAEVBD	Cross
4. +VIGMVND ARE	Cross	4. +EDILVEARD	Cross
5. +VCMVNP APEP	Cross	5. +EDILVEARD	Cross
6. +VCMVND IPEP	Cross	6. +EDILVEARD	Cross
7. *+AIJWΛND VIΞB	Cross	7. +EDILVEARD	Cross
8. *+AIJWΛND VBEP	Cross	8. +EDILVEARD	Cross
9. +VIGMVND IRER	Cross	9. +EDILVEARD	Cross
10. +VIGMVND IRE·R	Cross	10. +EDILVEARD	Cross
11. +VIGMVND IRER	Cross	11. +EDILVEARD	Cross
12. +AIGNAND VBEB	Cross	12. +EDILVEARD	Cross
13. +EDILVEARD	Cross	13. +EDILVEARD	Cross
		14. *+EPIΓABAVD	Cross
		15. +EDILVHVAΔ	Cross
		16. +EDILVEAΔD	Cross
		17. *+EDIΓAEVBD	Cross
		18. +EDILVEARD	Cross
		19. +EDILVEARD	Cross
		20. +EDILVEARD	Cross
		21. *+EDIΓAEVBD	Cross
		22. +EDILVΛERP	Cross
		23. +EEDILVEVRD	Cross
		24. *+EDIΓAEVBD	Cross
		25. +EDILVEARD	Cross
		26. +EDILVEARD	Cross
		27. +E[....]EURD	Cross
		28. +EDILVE[...]	Cross

1/1 = 1611, 1/2 = 1612-15, 1/3 = 1616, 1617, 1/4 = 1618, 1/5 = 1619, 1/6 = 1620, 1/7 = 1621-3, 2/8 = 1624, 2/2 = 1625, 2/9 = 1626, 1627, 2/10 = 1628, 1629, 2/6 = 1630, 1631, 2/unclassified (illegible) = 1632, 3/11 = 1633, 3/12 = 1634, 4/13 = 1635-9, 5/14 = 1640, 5/15 = 1641, 6/15 = 1642, 7/16 = 1643, 1644, 8/17 = 1645, 8/18 = 1646-9, 8/19 = 1650, 1651, 8/20 = 1652, 9/21 = 1653, 1654, 9/18 = 1655-9, 9/22 = 1660, 9/23 = 1661, 1662, 9 (?)/unclassified (illegible) = 1663, 10/24 = 1664, 10/25 = 1665, 10/26 = 1666, 1667, 10/19 = 1668, 10/unclassified (.....EΓRD Cross ?) = 1669, 11/27 = 1670, 12/23 = 1671, 12/28 = 1672, 1673, 13/23 = 1674

Obverse 10 also found with Erwinne reverse (cf. coins 46 and 406 above).

*Moneyer Hunlaf*

1. +VIGMVND	Cross	1. +HVVLAF	Cross
2. +VIGMVHD	Cross	2. +NVVLAF	Cross
3. +VIGMVND	Cross	3. +HVVLAF	Cross
4. +VIGMVND	Cross	4. +HVVLAF	Cross
5. +VIGMVND	Cross	5. +HVVLAF	Cross
6. +VIGMVD IPER	Cross	6. +HVVLAF	Cross
7. +VIGMVND IR	Cross	7. +HVVLAF	Cross
8. +VIGMVND IR	Cross	8. +HVVLAF	✱
9. +VIGMVND IR	✱	9. +HVNLAF	Cross
10. +VIGMVND IR:	✱	10. +HVVLAF	✱
11. +VIGMVND :	✱	11. +HVNLAF	Cross
12. +VIGMVND IR	✱	12. +HVVLAF	Cross
13. +VIGMVND	✱	13. +HVVLAF	Cross
14. +AIGWΛ·VD VV·	✱	14. +HVVLAF	Cross
		15. +HVWAF:	✱
		16. +HVVLAF	✱
		17. +HVVLAF	Cross
		18. +HVNLAF	✱
		19. +HVNLAF	Cross
		20. +HΛ·VΓ·V·L·	✱
		21. H:NV:Γ·V·F	✱

1/1 = 1675-7, 2/1 = 1678, 2/2 = 1679, 1680, 2/unclassified (illegible) = 1681, 3/3 = 1682, 4/4 = 1683-5, 5/5 = 1686, 5/6 = 1687, 6/6 = 1688, 6/7 = 1689, 1690, 7/8 = 1691, 1692, 7/9 = 1693, 7/10 = 1694, 1695, 7/11 = 1696, 1697, 7/unclassified (illegible) = 1698, 8/12 = 1699-1701, 8/13 = 1702, 9/14 = 1703, 10/15 = 1704, 10/16 = 1705, 10/unclassified (illegible) = 1706, 11/17 = 1707, 11/18 = 1708, 1709, 12/19 = 1710, 13/unclassified (illegible) = 1711, 14/20 = 1712, 14/21 = 1713-15, unclassified (illegible)/21 = 1716, 1717

## WULFHRE

*Moneyer Wulfred*

1. *ΛΛΓΕΗΕΒΕ ЪЕР	⊕	1. +ЭЭVV:LE:O	✱
2. *ΛΛΓΕΗΕΒΕ VBED	✱	2. +VVΓFR:E:D:	✱
3. +VVLFHRE AREP	✱	3. +VVLFRED	✱
4. *ΛΛΓΕΗΕД АВЕЪ	Cross	4. +VVL·FRED	✱
5. +VLFHRE ABP	✱	5. +PЭVVLFR	✱
6. *ΛΛΓFHER AREP	⊕	6. *+ΛΛΓEBED	Cross
7. +VLFHRE ABED	✱	7. +VVL·FRED	Cross
		8. *+ΛΛΓ·EBED	✱
		9. *+ΛΛΓEBED	Cross
		10. +EDVVLFR	Cross
		11. *.]ΛΛΓEBE[.	Cross

1/1 = 1718-20, 1/2 = 1721, 2/3 = 1722, 2/4 = 1723, 3/4 = 1724, 3/5 = 1725, 3/6 = 1726, 3/7 = 1727, 4/8 = 1728, 1729, 5/9 = 1730, 6/10 = 1731, 7/11 = 1732

## COINS NOT IDENTIFIED

The hoard contained eighteen further coins that were either illegible or unattributable (coins 1733-50); fragments of eleven coins similarly illegible or unattributable (coins 1751-61); thirteen smaller fragments (numbered 1762-74); and one coin that decomposed into a number of minute particles after discovery (coin 1775)

## ACQUISITIONS BY YORKSHIRE MUSEUM

The following coins were purchased by the Yorkshire Museum at the Sotheby sale of 23 June 1971: 45, 213-14, 800-13, 909-13, 915-16, 917-18, 920-2, 926-30, 932-4, 1046, 1082, 1085-90, 1267, 1269-83, 1286-9, 1357-8, 1361-98, 1400, 1402-73, 1476-1500, and 1733-75.

# SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE ENGLISH COINAGES OF SIHTRIC CAOCH, KING OF DUBLIN AND OF YORK

MICHAEL DOLLEY AND C. N. MOORE

SOME of the most intriguing Viking pennies from the Northern Danelaw of England are those which bear the name of a certain SITRIC who has been plausibly identified since the middle of the last century with the historical Sihtric Uí Ivar nicknamed variously Caoch ('one-eyed') and Gale ('hero'). He was the father of the celebrated Anlaf Cuaran ('of the sandal'), and hence the great-grandfather—not the grandfather, cf. Dolley (1973)—of the no less famous Sihtric Silkbeard whose Dublin pennies in imitation of English coins are relatively common. For a century and more English numismatists have been discussing these quite exceptional early tenth-century pennies of Sihtric Caoch, but never, as it happens, on the basis of more than a proportion of the extant specimens. Since the 1930s, however, a final and valid distinction has begun to be drawn between them and some even rarer coins of an apparently somewhat earlier Earl Sihtric (Keary (1887), no. 1077), and of yet another slightly later Sihtric nicknamed 'of the jewels' who seems to have been a son of Sihtric Caoch and so a brother of Anlaf Cuaran (Dolley (1957/1958), pp. 69–72). The purpose of this present note is to illustrate by an enlarged direct photograph [Fig. 1] the only penny of Sihtric Caoch, out of eight of which the present whereabouts are known, which would seem not to have been before the subject of photographic illustration in a numismatic publication, and, perhaps more importantly, to bring to the attention of numismatists a very early drawing [Fig. 3] and a more recent line-engraving [Fig. 2] of a ninth coin which seems never to have attracted informed discussion since it was correctly attributed some sixty years ago. The opportunity will also be taken of reviewing a wider spectrum of the numismatic evidence which exists for a coinage of which the historical significance is indeed considerable, and especially in the broader context of the regally anonymous post-Cuerdale coinages of York and of Lincoln.

The penny, never before the subject of photographic reproduction in a numismatic journal, is one housed today in the Royal Coin Cabinet at the State Historical Museum at Stockholm. It derives from Hjalmar Stolpe's epoch-making exploration in the last century of the great Viking-age cemetery at Björkö (Birka) at the eastern end of Lake Malar. A somewhat inferior photograph did appear in 1940 (Arbman (1940–3), pl. 141, no. 5, cf. text, p. 320—we owe the reference to the kindness of Mr. Kenneth Jonsson), but for the new and enlarged photographs and for permission to reproduce them here we are indebted to the kindness of Förste antikvarie Docent Brita Malmer, the Keeper of the Royal Coin Cabinet, and of her assistant Antikvarie Tamás Sárkány. The coin belongs to the grouping here distinguished as the *Sword/T* issue—though there can be little doubt that the reverse type is in fact the pagan symbol of a Thor's hammer in its most elementary form. Other examples are in the British Museum and in the cabinet



belonging to University College, Bangor (N. Wales), but in each case the moneyer is different. >



FIG. 1

The penny which has escaped numismatic comment, and which today exists, despite the most diligent search, only in a pen-and-ink drawing and a line-engraving, seems to have been unknown outside a very small circle prior to 1913 when W. A. Cragg, a distinguished Lincolnshire antiquary from the early part of this century, published at Sleaford a slim volume entitled *A History of Threekingham with Stow in Lincolnshire*. Interestingly the coin is not mentioned, let alone discussed, in the main body of the text, and this could suggest that the author had come across the reference only after the work was in proof, or at least the relevant portion substantially drafted. The line-engraving is in fact rather crudely interpolated at the bottom of p. 2—beneath a couple of short paragraphs and a footnote headed ROMAN PERIOD—and is captioned 'Silver Coin of Sitric, King of Northumberland, A.D. 921-926, found at Threekingham' [Fig. 2]. The

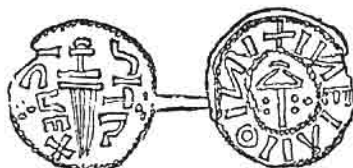


FIG. 2

accuracy of the identification suggests consultation by a competent numismatist of Keary (1887), and the context gives the impression of a single find. Threekingham, alias Threckingham, parish church is situated, Cragg reminds us, only a few hundred yards from the intersection of two Roman roads, one branching off from Ermine Street and here running approximately north and south, and the other, known since Anglo-Danish times as the Saltergate or Saltersway, running westwards to end appropriately enough at Droitwich in Worcestershire. It is no cause for suspicion, then, that what is presumably a coin of York should have been found in the vicinity. On the other hand, it could be thought just a little curious that a coin of this importance should have disappeared from ken if it was really in existence at a date posterior to 1887 and probably as recently as the beginning of the second decade of this century.

The answer to the mystery ought to lie in the Cragg papers—certainly the coin was not among the antiquities which passed on W. A. Cragg's death to the City of Lincoln

Museum—but unfortunately these papers, essentially those of an antiquarian forebear John Cragg (1762–1832), cf. Phillips (1933), p. 113, could not be microfilmed in their entirety during the decade when they were deposited at the Lincolnshire Archive Office prior to 1960 when they were withdrawn and put into the London sale-room. By a most timely chance, however, a letter preserved in the files of the City of Lincoln Museum, and to which our attention has been drawn by Mr. John Marjoram, supplies most if not all of what the numismatist needs to know. The letter is one from W. A. Cragg to Arthur Smith who was at that time the able and enthusiastic curator of the City and County Museum. It is on a sheet of embossed letter-paper measuring approximately 18.0 × 11.3 cm. and with the heading THREEKINGHAM HOUSE, NR. FOLKINGHAM, LINCS. (Station, Billingboro. 2½ m.: Telegraph, Folkingham, 2 m.). Dated '29.VIII.11' the letter runs:

Dear Mr Smith

Can you tell me what // the enclosed coin may // be?

I expect to be in Lincoln // on Sept. 8<sup>th</sup> and will call // and see you.

Yours truly

*William. A. Cragg*

Mr. A. Smith.

Accompanying the letter is a small piece of paper measuring approximately 7.1 × 8.8 cm. with the drawing reproduced here as Fig. 3. The monogram initials 'M C' would appear



FIG. 3

to be those of an early twentieth-century copyist, perhaps a female member of Cragg's family, but the first two lines of the caption give the impression of reproducing an earlier (? late eighteenth-century) hand. The much grosser addition 'in Threkingham' is certainly by W. A. Cragg himself, while an endorsement (not reproduced here) in the bottom left-hand corner, 'Red. Aug. 30. 11', is Arthur Smith's. What we now know is

that the coin was correctly identified in the book of 1913 on the basis of a copy of an early drawing supplied by W. A. Cragg to the City Museum on 29 August 1911, and it may be inferred that the original, executed probably within months of the 1794 discovery, had been found among the Cragg MSS. It may be taken as reasonably certain, too, that by 1911 the coin itself had long since vanished, but even at second hand the drawing carries conviction, and the writers are not alone in preferring the 1911 version to the line-engraving of two years later.

The lost coin clearly belongs to the grouping here distinguished as the *Sword/Hammer* type, the object on the reverse, by earlier students described variously as a 'mallet' or 'pall' or 'pallium', being a classic example where the archaeologist is concerned of the Thor's hammer device used as a symbol of good luck in pagan and even post-pagan times throughout the Scandinavian North. Other examples of coins of the grouping are in the Royal Coin and Medal Collection at Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen I, 594) and in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (*SCBI* Edinburgh 70), and the reverse legend of the former bears, as we shall see, a very close resemblance.

The third grouping of the pennies of Sihtric Caoch likewise is known from no more than three coins, and it is here distinguished as the *Sword/Cross* type. Examples are in the British Museum from the Dawson ('Dean of St. Patrick') and Lockett cabinets, and in the Royal Coin and Medal Collection at Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen I, 627). One of the British Museum coins has the variant, and still not convincingly explained, obverse legend LVDO SITRIC, while the other retains the more normal SITRIC REX which is found also on the Copenhagen coin from the same reverse die—the only die-identity so far observed within the series. If we take the nine coins together, it is to find that there occur on them five names that seem certainly those of moneyers, and that there are two reverse legends where a more natural interpretation would be a mint-signature unaccompanied by a personal name. At this juncture, though, it is perhaps preferable to consider more closely the interlocking patterns of the coins' discovery and hoard-provenances.

At the time that the Threkingham specimen came to light in 1794, only one other English coin of one or other of the Sihtrics appears to have been known, the unique penny of *triquetra/standard* type in the Pembroke cabinet which in due course would find its way to the British Museum (Keary (1887), no. 1079). Struck by the *hapax* moneyer 'Ascolv' (= Æsculf?) it very likely derived from an Irish find, and to Fr. Daniel Haigh of Erdington must be given the credit for its final dissociation from Sihtric Caoch (Haigh (1876), p. 67). It is now given to this Sihtric's homonymous son, nicknamed 'of the jewels', together with the unique *Cross/Cross* penny by the moneyer Rathulf in the 1883 Forum ('Rome' or 'House of the Vestal Virgins') hoard (Keary (1884), p. 253, no. 388: cf. Dolley (1957/1958), p. 48). Before, too, the coins certainly of Sihtric Caoch could begin seriously to exercise numismatic scholarship, the waters were to be further muddled by the occurrence of the Earl Sihtric pieces in the 1840 Cuerdale treasure (Keary (1887), no. 1077), though fortunately we need not waste time on a putative striking in gold with a Yorkshire find-spot (Dolley (1964), *passim*) seeing that the coin, in fact a Merovingian *triens*, had only a marginal impact on numismatic literature. In the table that follows an attempt is made to indicate the dates at which each of the nine silver pennies of Sihtric Caoch are believed to have come to light and when they were first illustrated.

	<i>Discovery</i>	<i>First engraving</i>	<i>First photographic illustration</i>
<i>Sword/T</i> type (North (1963) 536; Seaby (1973) 549)			
1. British Museum, London	before 1840	1869	1936
2. Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm	1879	1881	1940
3. University Collection, Bangor	1894	—	1946
<i>Sword/Hammer</i> type (North (1963) —; Seaby (1973) 549)			
4. The lost coin from Threekingham	1794	1913	—
5. Royal Coin and Medal Collection, Copenhagen	before 1855	1869	1964
6. National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh	1891	—	1966
<i>Sword/Cross</i> type (North (1963) —; Seaby (1973) 549)			
7. British Museum, London	1838	1842	1887
8. British Museum, London	before 1855	1869	1909
9. Royal Coin and Medal Collection, Copenhagen	before 1879	—	1895

It emerges that no extant coin of Sihtric Caoch was known until 1838 when the still resolutely unique LUDO SIHTRIC *Sword/Cross* penny in the British Museum (Keary (1887), no. 1113) came to light at Glasnevin on the northern outskirts of Dublin (Lindsay (1842), p. 123, but for the find-spot see Dolley (1966), p. 28). For quite a number of years, though, the coin was attributed to Eric Bloodaxe, a contemporary of Sihtric Caoch's sons and grandsons, on no better evidence than a misinterpretation of the reverse legend (e.g. Dawson (1842), lot 249).

Already by 1869, however, at least three further specimens of the penny of Sihtric Caoch had been found, and were available for discussion and illustration by Jonathan Rashleigh. One of these is the British Museum's fragmentary coin of *Sword/T* type by the moneyer Are (Rashleigh (1869), p. 81, no. 3: pl. ii. 17) which had been purchased at the so-called 'Dean of St. Patrick' (*recte* St. Patrick's) sale (Dawson (1842), lot 216), but registered as an Irish coin (!) and hence passed over by Keary's great catalogue of 1887. The ultimate provenance was not recorded by its first owner, but in point of fact it is from the same Glasnevin find. The second of the three 'new' Sihtric Caoch pennies to be discussed by Rashleigh is the Copenhagen penny of *Sword/Hammer* type (Rashleigh (1869), p. 81, no. 4: pl. ii. 19) which is as it happens not at all dissimilar from the lost Threekingham coin, and, as we shall see, there is a distinct possibility that it derives from a minor English find of coins of *Saint Peter* type associated with Derbyshire which may well have come to light as early as c. 1850. The third of the Sihtric Caoch pennies to come under Rashleigh's notice is, of course, the British Museum's coin of *Sword/Cross* type *ex* the Lockett cabinet (Rashleigh (1869), p. 80, no. 2: pl. ii. 16) for which Mr. Hugh Pagan has suggested—in a letter—as the most likely provenance the collection of Col. Sempronius Stretton dispersed by his heir in 1855. Certainly there is one piece in that sale (Stretton (1855), lot 409) which does seem a very plausible candidate, and the more so perhaps in the light of a later claim (Rashleigh (1869), p. 79) that the Sihtric coin in question 'was sold at Sotheby's as a coin of St. Peter'. If, too, the coin is correctly identified as Stretton's, there is a distinct possibility that the ultimate provenance was



Irish. Mr. Pagan has added to his kindness by bringing to our attention a statement in the Rashleigh MSS., now in the British Museum, to the effect that 'the coin was probably found in Ireland with coins of the same type of St. Peter's money', and there is always the further consideration that the Stretton cabinet is known to have leaned very heavily on material acquired in Ireland (Dolley and Martin (1959), *passim*). In this same connection, too, it may be worth noting that *Sword Saint Peter* pennies are on record as having been found in more than one Irish context. The Glasnevin and 1883 Co. Dublin finds apart, two specimens have turned up at the very time of writing in a critical find of Glasnevin type unearthed in the course of a palaeoecological investigation of Dunmore Cave in Co. Kilkenny during July and August 1973.

To revert for the moment to the *Sword/Hammer* coin in Copenhagen, additional support for the view that it had been found before c. 1855 is afforded by its illustration in Fr. Daniel Haigh's classic disquisition on the Northumbrian series (Haigh (1876), pl. vi. 2). Publication may not have been until the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but it is specifically remarked in the course of the text (p. 21) that the plates had been prepared 'some twenty years before'. More than ever one wonders, then, whether the ultimate provenance may not have been that small hoard from an uncertain place, perhaps in Derbyshire, which allegedly had consisted entirely of coins of *Sword Saint Peter* type (Rashleigh (1869), p. 99). By one of the present writers, admittedly, the date of discovery has been put as late as c. 1860 (Dolley (1966), p. 28), but a reappraisal of all the evidence must suggest that a date as far back as the early 1850s—or even the late 1840s—is entirely plausible. Once again we are indebted to Mr. Pagan for drawing our attention to certain items in yet another Sotheby sale of the middle of the nineteenth century (Hurt (1853), lots 40–3) where the vendor, described as of 'Wirksworth, Derbyshire', is found disposing of really quite a substantial parcel of *Sword Saint Peter* pennies. Rashleigh was only one of several buyers on that occasion, and it seems perfectly credible that a misattributed coin in a lot which he did not acquire should have been purchased by one of the dealers on behalf of Bergne, while a few years earlier Haigh with his Yorkshire roots and new Birmingham residence must have been well placed to be shown and to have engraved any curious coin discovered in Derbyshire. Equally, too, the apparent absence from the parcel of the English regal coins so critical for dating the find's concealment would more than sufficiently explain the lack of real interest displayed by Haigh and Rashleigh alike in the find's precise composition and exact provenance.

This is not to say that one or other of the two Sihtric Caoch pennies here tentatively associated with the Stretton and Hurt sales could not in fact derive from yet another source, and here the 1807 Bossall/Flaxton hoard comes at once to mind (Dolley (1955) *passim*), and especially now that Mr. Pagan has satisfied us that *Sword Saint Peter* really were present in that find in some quantity. What must not be overlooked, though, is the quite remarkable extent to which the English numismatic scene at the end of the 1830s was dominated by the energetic, wealthy, and extremely perspicacious Edward Hawkins. The failure of the distinctive *Sword* coins of Sihtric Caoch to make their mark on the pages of tomes as magisterial as those of Ruding (1840) and Hawkins (1841) cannot but raise a presumption that at this period such pennies had still to be discovered on English soil. From the first half of the nineteenth century, too, there is a certain paucity of English finds which could be said to be chronologically consistent with the

inclusion of a *Sword* element, and what is perhaps the most obvious candidate, the 1855 find from Scotby (Thompson (1956), no. 324, but see now Blunt (1974), pp. 156–8), not only came to light too late by several years really to be compatible with the Haigh illustration, but must be thought to suffer from the well-nigh fatal defect that it appears to have been strongly Chester- and not York-oriented.

The four earliest provenances that we have for the extant coins of Sihtric Caoch seem, then, to be all from Ireland and from the Northern Midlands of England. A new element is introduced by the next coin of the king to come to light, the *Sword/Cross* penny now in Copenhagen but with a sale-pedigree that goes back to the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Borghesi (1880), lot 1372). So unexpected a provenance may well reflect an Italian findspot, for all that the coin proves to be from the same reverse die as the coin now in the British Museum which the preceding paragraphs have sought to associate with the mid nineteenth-century find from Derbyshire. In 1879, too, a second *Sword/T* coin occurred as a single find in one of the Birka graves (Hildebrand (1881), p. 4). On any telling it is one of the latest Western coins to have been found in that particular context (Rasmusson (1934), *passim*), and here surely is a hint and more that the Sihtric coinage should belong no later than the very end of the first quarter of the tenth century. In 1891, furthermore, the Trotternish hoard from Skye (Stevenson (1966), pp. xiii and xiv) threw up a second specimen of the penny of *Sword/Hammer* type (Richardson (1891), pp. 236 and 238), and the concealment of this considerable find must seem securely dated a year or two before rather than after 940. Almost immediately, moreover, this 'hard' *terminus ante quem* was moved back a whole decade and more when in 1894 a third of the *Sword/T* coins occurred in the small but critical hoard from Bangor in north Wales (Anon. (1894), p. 104). It is a curious but scarcely significant coincidence that exactly one hundred years should separate the discovery of the first of Sihtric's pennies at Threkingham in 1794 and this the most recent discovery in 1894, and perhaps more remarkable that eighty years should have elapsed since it has been possible to make any addition to the *corpus* of known specimens.

The hoard evidence, then, would seem to be broadly consistent with what little can be deduced from the coins' typology and style. Their most obvious affinities are with the relatively common late group of *Saint Peter* pennies from York where a sword has been added to the obverse type—one can say relatively common since the number of extant specimens is certainly well in excess of sixty. These *Sword Saint Peter* coins appear at last to be dated with fair security to the early 920s (Dolley (1957), p. 131), and it is satisfying that an example from each of the main groupings occurs in the recent find from Dunmore Cave which there is reason to think dates from the year 929. Only less close are the affinities to the extremely rare *Saint Martin* pennies of Lincoln which appear also to belong—*pace* the older historians and numismatists—to the 920s (Stewart (1967), pp. 51–4). Again an example, the sixth known, was in the new find from Dunmore Cave. Few students of the Irish Sea scene, too, would wish to date the Glasnevin and Bangor hoards even as late as 930, so that the consequent dating for the Sihtric Caoch pennies within the approximate bracket *c.* 920–*c.* 925 is one that may be thought to agree admirably with the little that is known concerning the Hiberno-Norse adventurer's career in England from the more conventional historical sources. It was probably in 921 that he succeeded his cousin Regnald as king of the York Vikings, and in 926 that he married—*en deuxièmes* if not *troisièmes* or even *quatrièmes nocés*—a young

half-sister of King Æthelstan of England. Within the year he was dead, his effective successor being his brother—or half-brother?—Guthfrith of whom no coins are known (cf. Stenton (1971), pp. 339 and 346).

That all Sihtric Caoch's surviving coins were struck at one and the same mint has always been assumed, and the implication is that this must have been York. Dublin can safely be precluded; increasingly there is evidence that the Hiberno-Norse mint was established by his homonymous great-grandson no earlier than the very last years of the tenth century (Dolley (1973), *passim*). It should be stressed, though, that there appear to be two distinct series, the one mint- and the other moneyer-signed, even though the dies for both clearly emanate from one centre if not a single *atelier*. A similar dichotomy exists within the *Sword Saint Peter* coins, but here the *Sword/Hammer* coins uniformly exhibit incoherent reverse legends, whereas on the parallel *Sword/Cross* coins which are generally of neater work there will be found a consistent mint-signature +EBORACE CIV(itas) which can only indicate York. As Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart has hinted, too, the chronological indications as to the sequence of Sihtric Caoch's three types are baffling in their inherent contradictions (Stewart (1967), pp. 51–3; *idem* (1967A), p. 270). Typologically the earliest ought perhaps to be the *Sword/T* coins, the one class where none of the surviving coins attempts a mint-signature, inasmuch as they give the impression of linking back through a unique coin in the Trotternish hoard (Stevenson (1966), no. 71) with an earlier (?) and regally anonymous issue which is of even greater rarity. The types of this Trotternish coin correspond exactly to those of the Sihtric pieces in question, but the completely blundered—and retrograde—obverse legend is probably to be read IDIED//ERIIV, and so recalls the EIVERDE reverse legend of a penny—again with the 'T' form of the Thor's hammer as its reverse type—from the 1958 Morley St. Peter hoard (Dolley (1958), p. 113, fig. 1, *d*). Here the obverse type is likewise a horizontal sword, with pellets above and below, but this time it is contained within an inner circle, while the surrounding legend reads +ERDVearix and so even more clearly essays the name of Edward the Elder, the West Saxon king who between 899 and 924 rolled back the southern frontier of the Danelaw from the Thames below London as far as the Trent if not the Humber. A second more fragmentary coin is in the University collection at Bangor (Fox (1946), pl. ix, 7; Blunt (1954), pl. ii, 5), and again is from the 1894 Bangor find. Here, though, the spined sword points upward, but still it is flanked by pellets, while the incomplete legends run +CIE—IVE and —EVIVEI, the 'c' being of square form. A third coin of the group occurred in the 1838 Glasnevin find (Lindsay pl. 2, no. 52), and is now in the cabinet of Mr. Christopher Blunt, F.B.A., of Ramsbury. It has the same types except that the sword now points downwards and the pellets are omitted. The legend may be read +CIOVICVIC and +CIOVICVIC, the 'c' again being in each case of square form. A second coin with these types but with legends closer to those on the Morley St. Peter specimen has recently turned up in the Dunmore Cave find, but is unfortunately fragmentary. Finally there is a large fragment of a coin of completely consistent fabric, type, and style in the cabinet of Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart of Southwark, but here the formal pedigree probably should not be carried back beyond the third of the Lord Grantley sales (Grantley (1944), lot 958b)—the suggestion of a Cambridgeshire findspot almost certainly means no more than that the coin had been purchased at first or even second hand from one particular coin-dealer in business at Cambridge in the early years of this century. That these five coins belong all to the years

leading up to Æthelstan's reassertion of English authority over York in 927 cannot well be doubted, but their exact position in the sequence is far from certain. The Bangor provenance could be critical inasmuch as the find, admittedly a small one, eschews coins of Æthelstan, and is usually dated in consequence before c. 925, so that if these rare pieces are of York they probably antedate both the Sihtric pennies under discussion and the *Sword Saint Peter* issues. Again, though, the assumption that York is the mint is one that may have been made too lightly. Not one of the coins has a legend approximating in any way to a York mint-signature, and there is the disturbing circumstance that none of them would appear to derive from the Bossall/Flaxton find (Dolley (1955), *passim*) which must surely represent our *locus classicus* where coins of York from the second half of the first quarter of the tenth century are concerned.

Likewise ambiguous is the position of the *Sword/Hammer* coins of Sihtric Caoch which are generally inferior in execution even if superior in their degree of sophistication. The penny from Threekingham and its counterpart in Copenhagen which this note has suggested is from a nineteenth-century find associated with Derbyshire exhibit between them an unusual consistency of reverse legend—†IEIVIIIOINI (or †INEIAIIIOINI?) and †INEIAIIIOIN—so that it is hard to avoid the conclusion that they are essaying the same mint-signature, and it has occurred to both the writers quite independently that this could be for Lincoln. Against all this, the †IEVICRIMOT of the Trotternish coin of the same type must suggest a more conventional reverse legend with the name of the moneyer and a contraction to indicate his status—cf. the Eric coin of the *Sword/Cross* grouping—and we are left in consequence with the first coin with a highly literate obverse tied to the second by a markedly inferior reverse, while the third is tied to the second by the degree of degeneracy of their obverses. It is noteworthy, too, that the spine down the blade of the sword of the obverse type is found in the case of two of the three coins under discussion—the feature is one that persists from the issue considered in the previous paragraph. It is too easy to forget that blundering is not necessarily a symptom of degeneration, and one should never preclude the possibility that one is dealing not with deterioration but with the prentice work of a tiro engraver in the process of finding his feet.

To turn now to the *Sword/Cross* coins, the implication at least of Mr. Stewart's as usual highly perceptive remarks is that they belong relatively early (Stewart (1967), pp. 53–4), but the sword seems consistently without spine which seems to suggest a certain divorce from the perhaps transitional pieces where the sword of the obverse type is contained within an inner circle (*supra*, p. 40). Transitional pieces, of course, can come at the end as well as the beginning of a series, but the whole tenor of the hoard-evidence does suggest for them a slot before 921 rather than after 926, and we do well to remember that if they were in fact from Guthfrith's time they would be among the very latest coins in the finds from Glasnevin and Dunmore Cave, as well as the latest pieces in those from Bangor and Morley St. Peter. A further *nexus* between the *Sword/Cross* and *Sword/Hammer* pennies of Sihtric Caoch is the fact that one of the former is seemingly moneyer-signed, whereas the other two are from the one †CACTDAEGRT reverse die that seems so clearly to enshrine a mint-signature, even if one must resist the temptation to read Latin *castra* into the first six letters, and leave open the question whether the antepenultimate letter is 'g' or 'o'. It is interesting, though, that this putative mint-signature appears to bear no relation to that essayed on the *Sword/Hammer*



coins, and that epigraphically the *Sword/Cross* pennies of Sihtric Caoch have little in common with their typological analogues in the *Sword Saint Peter* series, the generally superior pennies consistently essaying the unequivocal mint-signature +EBORACE CIV(*itas*). At this stage at any rate one would not wish to rule out the possibility that Sihtric's coins may have been produced at three places, one of these being the centre—not York?—where the dies may have been produced for all of them.

Neglected in our opinion is a certain resemblance between the +IEIVHIOINI (or +INEIAHIOINI?) and +INEIAHIOIN of the *Sword/Hammer* pence of Sihtric Caoch and the +INCOIACIVT of the most blundered of the *Saint Martin* pennies (Stewart (1967), p. 47), though one would hesitate to go so far as to claim that *Lincolla* or *Lincolnia* is what the regal coins are attempting. There is, on the other hand, just a little prosopographical evidence to suggest that some of the Sihtric pieces might conceivably have been struck south of the Humber. Sibrant is, as we have seen, a perhaps significant *hapax*, and it is difficult to make much of HEVICRI, though the 'r' could reflect an ON. nominative ending. In the same way, Adel—d is tantalizing in its incompleteness. If for Æthelheard or Æthelferth, York might seem indicated (Blunt (1974), p. 90), but, and the reservation is an important one, the flavour of these names, if indeed there are two names, is essentially 'late' where Æthelstan's coinage is concerned. Chronologically more attractive would be Adelberd for Adelbert, and Adelbert is a *hapax* moneyer in the so-called 'church' type of Æthelstan—the reverse in fact adapts the masonry altar from the well-known Constantinian BEATA TRANQUILLITAS type—which Mr. Blunt accepts as a York issue, even though only one moneyer employs the York mint-signature and the others have no obvious York connection (Blunt (1974), p. 92). With Are and Eric we are on firmer ground. Both are considered by Mr. Blunt moneyers of his North-Eastern I (Two-Line) grouping which is associated with the Northern Danelaw but not with Northumbria (Blunt (1974), pp. 81–3). In other words prosopographical considerations link the coinage of Sihtric Caoch both with York and with an ill-defined area lying immediately to the south of the Humber, and what seems to emerge from all this is the reflection that on the basis of nine coins we are in no position finally to resolve what are in fact inextricably tangled problems of attribution and of relative chronology. Inasmuch, too, as the new Dunmore Cave find seems certainly to have been concealed in 929 and contains both major variants of the *Sword Saint Peter* issue, Irish students at least will continue to attach considerable significance to the total absence of coins assignable to Guthfrith Uí Ivar, and to regard 927 as the natural *terminus ante quem* for the whole *Saint Peter* coinage.

By definition the coins of Sihtric Caoch fall between 921 and 926, and one may well ask if there is any reason why the *Saint Martin* and the *Sword Saint Peter* issues should not be confined to the same bracket, in which case any groupings within the series are more likely to possess geographical rather than chronological significance. The numismatist must not forget the limitations of his methods, and until such time as he can point to a whole range of finds neatly dated *c.* 923 and consistently including certain types of Sihtric and excluding others, he is really in no position to argue that a particular coin is 'early' or 'late' within a series that does not seem either to grow out of one coinage or to shade away into another. In other words it may well be thought inappropriate in the present state of knowledge to insist on there being any clear sequence in the three groupings into which the nine recorded pennies of Sihtric Caoch appear to fall.

This is not to say that consideration of these nine coins in depth has been entirely negative. It is by no means without interest that there appear to be two parallel series, one mint-signed and the other without mint-signature but exhibiting what seem to be the names of individual moneyers. In the same way some significance surely must attach to the observation that a certain homogeneity of style points to the dies all having been engraved at one centre if not indeed by one hand. The hypothesis we would like to put forward for serious consideration is that this centre of die-production may have lain south of the Humber—conceivably at Lincoln—and not at York. Increasingly it is becoming clear that numismatics and history alike have been unduly shackled by nineteenth-century concepts of strict constitutional propriety, and it is doubtful if due weight has ever been given to the differences of political climate that must have obtained under the temperamentally very different Edward the Elder and Æthelstan, differences that may be thought to be very neatly mirrored in the circumstance that we have coins of Archbishop Plegmund but not of his successor. From the Bossall/Flaxton hoard it seems abundantly clear that by the middle of the second decade of the tenth century the situation within the York mint—or mints?—had degenerated to the point that complete collapse was inevitable. The last of the *Swordless Saint Peter* coins and of the secular issues associated with them, the so-called 'Raienalt' issues traditionally linked with Regnald Uí Ivar and if so dating most probably from the years immediately preceding his definitive usurpation of 917/919, together constitute a coinage as wretched in its execution as of inferior weight if not fineness. The Hiberno-Norse triumph could well have proved the last straw with as one numismatic consequence of the political débâcle the disappearance of a failing school of die-sinking. For an economy long habituated to the use of coin such a disaster would have been indeed a serious matter, and it would have been only natural for York to turn to an alternative source of dies when the new order brought stability and a recrudescence of commercial prosperity.

Our provisional hypothesis is that c. 920 a die-cutter south of the Humber, and very probably at Lincoln, was invited to supply dies to York, and that under Sihtric Caoch the output of what was probably a quasi-ecclesiastical minting-authority was supplemented by an issue of more overtly secular coins with the Hiberno-Norse king's name. That all the *Sword Saint Peter* coins were actually struck at York, though some at least from dies supplied from Lincoln (?), must still appear the hypothesis that has most to commend it, but it could be that the secular issues should be thought of as amenable to other reasoning, and it seems feasible, to put it no more highly, that Sihtric Caoch, a pagan at least until his marriage to Æthelstan's half-sister, might have preferred to have had some if not all his coins struck elsewhere, and particularly if in the area directly controlled by him racial as well as religious tensions were conspiring to induce in him a certain reluctance to depend in fiscal matters exclusively on the goodwill of any one section of his subjects. As we have seen, there is some reason to think that a proportion at least of Sihtric's coins may have been struck at a mint or mints to the south of the Humber, and we hesitate entirely to preclude the possibility that Edward the Elder may not in fact have succeeded in establishing the plentitude of English sovereignty over the whole of what is now Lincolnshire. Nowhere in the historical record are we told precisely when Lincoln accepted the English king's authority, a possibly significant contrast with the position obtaining in the case of the more western of the Five Boroughs, but even within the received version of the events of the last years of Edward's reign

there seems room for a new interpretation of the Sihtric issues. Might not the tolerant and far-sighted English king given permission for the men of Lincoln to supply the Norse king with dies or even coin? Later in the same century the Welsh king Howel Dda seems to have been granted either by Eadmund or Eadred a licence to strike coins in his own name at the English mint established at Chester, and we are satisfied that if only we can rid ourselves of nineteenth-century preconceptions of sovereignty there is no inherent improbability in Sihtric Caoch having recourse in the same way to the mint of Lincoln where we now know that there was being put out at this very juncture the *Saint Martin* pennies which ignore totally Edward's kingship. What one would dearly like to know, however, was what terminated the arrangement. Was the cessation of an autonomous coinage of York something agreed on as part of the marriage-contract between Sihtric Caoch and Æthelstan's half-sister, or was it something imposed upon the men of York when Æthelstan deposed Guthfrith? Whatever our answer, though, if York by c. 925 was depending for its dies on a centre now effectively controlled by Æthelstan, the apparent total absence of coins of Guthfrith Uí Ivar becomes something that is very much more explicable than has been the case heretofore. Historically as well as numismatically, then, an interpretation of the York coinages of the early 920s along the lines suggested in this note may be thought to present fewer difficulties than some of its precursors, and it only remains for us to express our indebtedness to Messrs. Christopher Blunt, Hugh Pagan, and Ian Stewart who have given up so much of their time to discussion with us of certain facets of the extremely complex problems involved, but with the proviso that this acknowledgement is not to be taken as implying that all or any of our conclusions are necessarily acceptable to them in whole or in part.

## APPENDIX

### A CORPUS OF THE KNOWN COINS OF SIHTRIC CAOCH, KING OF DUBLIN AND OF YORK

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>TYPE A.</b> <i>Obverse type a sword</i>   | <i>Reverse type a Thor's hammer in the form of a 'T'</i> |
| 1. <i>Obv.</i> —ITR // -CRE  | <i>Rev.</i> IAREMO—                                      |
| <i>Var.</i> Zig-zag pattern along blade of sword.  | <i>Var.</i> Crescents flanking and above 'T'.            |
| Large fragment.  |  |
| British Museum, <i>ex</i> H. R. Dawson (1842), lot 216 (? <i>ex</i> 1838 Glasnevin find).                                    |  |
| <i>Discussion:</i> Rashleigh (1869), p. 81; Haigh (1876), p. 63; Allen (1936), p. 176.                                       |  |
| <i>Illustration:</i> Rashleigh (1869), pl. ii. 17; Haigh (1876), pl. vi. 1; Allen (1936), pl. 3; Brooke (1950), pl. lxvi. 6. |  |
| 2. <i>Obv.</i> SITR // ICREX   | <i>Rev.</i> †SIBRANT                                     |
| <i>Var.</i> Sword with spine.  |  |
| <i>Weight:</i> 13.7 grains (0.89 g) but chipped.   |  |
| Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm: found in 1879 in Grave 845 at Birka (Björkö).   |  |
| <i>Discussion:</i> Hildebrand (1881), p. 4; Rasmusson (1934), p. 368; Allen (1936), p. 176; Arbman (1943), p. 320.           |  |
| <i>Illustration:</i> Hildebrand (1881), p. 4; Arbman (1940), pl. 141, 5: <i>supra</i> , p. 34.                               |  |
| 3. <i>Obv.</i> SITR // ICR—  | <i>Rev.</i> †ADEL—DMD—the 'A' is unbarred.               |
| Large fragment.  |  |
| University Collection, Bangor, <i>ex</i> 1894 Bangor find.   |  |

*Discussion:* Anon. (1894), p. 104: Fox (1946), pp. 118 and 122: Blunt (1954), p. 261.

*Illustration:* Anon. (1894), p. 103: Fox (1946), pl. ix. 6: Blunt (1954), pl. ii. 4.

TYPE B. *Obverse type a sword*

*Reverse type the outline of a Thor's hammer*

4. *Obv.* SITR // ICRES—the second 'r' inverted. *Rev.* +IEIVIOIN—the 'n' reversely barred.

*Var.* Sword with spine.

*Var.* Hammer flanked by trefoils.

*Weight:* not recorded.

Present whereabouts unknown: found at Threkingham (Lincs.) in 1794.

*Discussion:* Cragg (1913), p. 2.

*Illustration:* Cragg (1913), p. 2: *supra*, pp. 34 and 35.

5. *Obv.* +ITR // RRL—the first two 'r's inverted and the first reversed. *Rev.* +INEIAIOIN—the 'a' unbarred.

*Var.* Hammer flanked by 'nails'.

*Weight:* 17.7 grains (1.15 g).

Royal Coin and Medal Collection, Copenhagen, *ex* Bruun [Galster (1928), 227], *ex* Montagu (1895), lot 424, *ex* Brice, *ex* Bergne (1873), lot 101 (?): ? *ex* Hurt (1853), lot 40 or 43: ? found in Derbyshire.

*Discussion:* Rashleigh (1869), p. 81: Haigh (1876), p. 63: Allen (1936), pp. 176 and 177.<sup>1</sup>

*Illustration:* Rashleigh (1869), pl. ii. 19: Haigh (1876), pl. vi. 2: Galster (1964), 594.

6. *Obv.* +ITR // ROOL

*Rev.* +IEVICRIMOT—the 'm' made up of five strokes.

*Var.* Sword with spine.

*Weight:* 21.4 grains (1.38 g).

National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh, *ex* 1891 Trotternish (Skye) hoard.

*Discussion:* Richardson (1891), pp. 236 and 238.

*Illustration:* Stevenson (1966), 70.

TYPE C. *Obverse type a sword*

*Reverse type a plain cross with crescents and pellets in opposed angles*

7. *Obv.* LVDO // SITRC

*Rev.* +ERICM'.' OTI—the 'm' is again made up of five strokes.

*Var.* Trefoil at point of sword and Thor's hammer in exergue.

*Weight:* 17.2 grains (1.11 g).

British Museum, *ex* H. R. Dawson (1842), lot 209: *ex* J. Humphreys: *ex* 1838 Glasnevin hoard.

*Discussion:* Lindsay (1842), p. 22: Rashleigh (1869), p. 81: Haigh (1876), p. 63: Allen (1936), p. 176.

*Illustration:* Lindsay (1842), p. 2, 55: Rashleigh (1869), pl. ii. 18: Haigh (1876), pl. vi. 3: Hawkins (1876), Suppl. pl. iv. 600: Keary (1887), pl. xxix. 13: Brooke (1932/1950), pl. x. 9: Allen (1936), pl. 5: Dolley (1965), pl. ix. 30.

8. *Obv.* SITR // ICRES

*Rev.* +CACTDAEGRT (*retrograde*).

*Weight:* 17.5 grains (1.13 g).

British Museum, *ex* Lockett (1955), lot 439, *ex* Bascom (1914), lot 46, *ex* Rashleigh (1909), lot 170, ? *ex* Stretton (1855), lot 409, ? found in Ireland.

*Discussion:* Rashleigh (1869), p. 80: Allen (1936), p. 176: Dolley (1956), p. 68: Stewart (1967A), p. 270.

*Illustration:* Rashleigh (1869), pl. ii. 16: Hawkins (1876), Suppl. pl. iv. 599: Rashleigh (1909), lot 170: Bascom (1914), lot 46: Oman (1931), pl. viii. 14: Allen (1936), pl. 4: Lockett (1955), lot 439: Dolley (1956), pl. xxi. 13: North (1963), pl. vii. 8: Dolley (1965), pl. ix. 31.

9. *Obv.* SITR // ICRES

*Rev.* From the same die as the preceding coin.

*Weight:* 21.3 grains (1.50 g).

Royal Coin and Medal Collection, Copenhagen, *ex* Bruun [Galster (1928), 192], *ex* Montagu (1895), lot 423: *ex* Brice, *ex* Borghesi (1880), lot 1372, ? found in Italy.

*Discussion:* Allen (1936), p. 176.

*Illustration:* Montagu (1895), lot 423 (wrongly numbered 417 on plate): Galster (1928), 192: Galster (1964), 627.

<sup>1</sup> The same coin described twice as no. 7 and 7a.



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# THE COVENTRY HOARD OF COINS OF EDWARD I TO EDWARD III

MARION M. ARCHIBALD

WHILE digging the foundation trench for a garage to be built at 126 Old Road, Foleshill, Coventry (SP 3540/8246), on 6 June 1967, Mr. J. P. Doyle unearthed a pot of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century silver coins. The finder did not preserve the container and although he later recalled that it had been 'skittle-shaped' he was unable to describe its fabric and size. When the Coventry Museum heard about the hoard just over a week after its discovery, the foundation trench had already been filled with concrete so that an investigation of the immediate context of the find was no longer possible. Despite a thorough search of the spoil heaps no fragments of the container were recovered.<sup>1</sup> At the inquest held at Coventry on 18 July 1967 the coins were declared treasure trove and sent to the British Museum for study. A press account of the court proceedings prompted a letter to the editor of the *Coventry Evening Telegraph* (22 July 1967) describing what appears to have been a similar find a stone's throw away at 114 Old Church Road in 1923. Mr. R. J. Hewitt wrote that he and his friend, then aged thirteen, had dug up 'about two handfuls' of coins like those recently found and had expended them as ammunition for their catapults in bombarding a tin can perched on a nearby hedge. The site of these events, Mr. Hewitt advises treasure hunters, is now covered by a bungalow. It is not possible to be certain of the identification of the coins found in 1923 but Mr. Hewitt's recollection of them is not incompatible with their having been a second part of the same treasure buried for greater security in two separate but adjacent hiding places. There are on record several instances of two, or possibly more, medieval hoards of virtually identical composition found in close proximity, e.g. the stycas discovered at Bolton Percy in the 1840s and again in 1967.<sup>2</sup> A closer parallel is perhaps to be found in the Colchester hoards of 1902 and 1969, the first of Short-Cross pennies and the second of Long-Cross pennies. Although concealed very close together it is unlikely that these two groups of coins could have formed a single treasure. The duplication of hoards on that particular site is probably to be explained by a succession of wealthy people living nearby. The earlier history of the Coventry findspot also suggests that the hoards are likely to have been two independent caches rather than the whole or part of a multiple-container deposit. The ownership of the area in the fourteenth century cannot be established but the land had formed part of the orchard of Foleshill vicarage for many years: it is referred to in an unofficial copy of the Enclosure Award of 1774 as 'Vicarage Land' and it is thought likely that the area had been Church property for a much longer period.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Mr. Cyril J. Scott, Museums Curator of the Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry, for information about the circumstances of the discovery of the hoard and for drawing my attention to the letter in the *Coventry Evening Telegraph*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. J. P. C. Kent discusses the different types of multiple-deposit hoards of all periods in his recent

paper, *Interpreting coin-finds in Coins and the Archeologist*, ed. John Casey and Richard Reece, British Archaeological Reports No. 4, 1974, pp. 184-200.

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Miss A. Lynes, formerly Librarian in Charge of the Coventry and Warwickshire Collection of the City Libraries, for her research into the history of the site and for this information.

The find comprises 38 groats, 59 half-groats, and 128 pennies, making a total of 225. The earliest coin is a London penny of Edward I class IIa issued in 1280 and the latest pieces are two pennies of the York mint struck during the Treaty coinage *c.* 1363. The individual coins in the hoard are unremarkable except for a number of minor die-variants and several rare coins among the pennies including a fine example of a Series A penny of the Pre-Treaty coinage struck from a hitherto unrecorded obverse die with a double annulet at the end of the legend. The presence of one Irish penny of Edward I and two worn pennies of Alexander III of Scotland is predictable but the inclusion of two half-groats of David II is more unusual. Of the two continental coins, one is a variant of the common Meraude sterling of John the Blind of Luxemburg. The other is a passable imitation of an early penny of Edward I but its abnormal style, base metal, and low weight (12.5 gr.) proclaim it to be a contemporary forgery. The form of the L with a pellet at the point of the front serif and the tressure inside the letter D can be matched on issues of Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, and suggest that the coin was produced in that area.

Since the coins for the most part required only superficial cleaning, the weights given in the catalogue of contents may be taken as being within a little of those at which they had been current at the time of their deposition. The groats and the half-groats had been in circulation for a maximum of some twelve to fifteen years and were little worn. Only one of them, a half-groat of Pre-Treaty Series D weighing 30.7 gr., had demonstrably been clipped although some paring of the edges cannot be ruled out in a few other cases. The pennies were in poorer condition and those of Edward I and Edward II were well worn. Although some of the latter had been clipped, others bore no overt signs of this and had clearly survived the successive reductions in the standard weight because they had been at the lighter end of the weight distribution when they were originally issued, compounded of course by some loss of weight as a result of wear in circulation. The weights of all denominations struck since the introduction of the current standards in 1351 form a typical pattern: a few pieces above standard weight, the bulk peaking just below it and a long 'tail' of underweight specimens. The groats range from 65.1 gr. to 72.2 gr. with 23 of the total of 38 weighing between 70 and 70.2 gr. Their average weight was 69.9 gr., the deficiency of 2.1 gr. accounted for by the culling of profitably heavy coins. The weights of the half-groats and pennies of the Pre-Treaty coinage follow a similar pattern and their average weights are 34.8 gr. (1.2 gr. below standard) and 17.2 gr. (0.8 gr. below standard) respectively. The Edward I and II sterlings and the pennies of the Florin issue of Edward III which were struck to a higher standard weight also conform to the expected distribution pattern for earlier survivors of this denomination: a more even distribution about the new lower standard weight with slightly more coins below than above the official current issue-weight but having an average weight very close to it.<sup>1</sup> The average weight of the pennies of Edward I and II is 18.2 gr. and that of the Florin pennies, 18.1 gr. Of the English pennies present in the hoard 34.9 per cent had been struck before 1310, more than fifty years before the deposition of the hoard. This high figure demonstrates once again the prominent role of pennies of Edward I in the circulation medium at a period long after they had been issued.

The hoard closes with five coins of the Treaty B period, the latest of which are two

<sup>1</sup> A histogram of the weights of the Edward I and II pennies in the present Coventry hoard was published in connection with the writer's discussion of the Attenuborough hoard, *BNJ* xxxviii (1969), p. 63.



York pennies with the annulet before EDWARDVS which correspond to Mr. Potter's class 2b at London dated to the period following the opening of the Calais mint on 20 February 1363.<sup>1</sup> How soon after this terminus the hoard was actually buried is difficult to say, especially since the later coins of the Treaty period were produced in much smaller quantities than those of the previous phase and consequently their absence from the hoard need not necessarily be chronologically significant. If, however, we look at the Attenborough hoard buried in *c.* 1420 and therefore late enough for anomalies in the representation of Edward III's issues to be unlikely, we find that from the mint of York there were 68 Treaty pennies against only 47 of Pre-Treaty Series G while in Coventry there are 3 Treaty against 4 series G. Similarly in the half-groat denomination 3 out of a total of 55 were of the Treaty issue in Attenborough whereas only 1 out of a total of 57 English coins in Coventry is of this issue. The Coventry populations are of course very small for statistical exercises of this kind but the figures would appear to indicate that Treaty coins are indeed under-represented in this hoard and that it would therefore be justifiable to say that the deposition date is likely to have been in or shortly after the date of the latest coins, *c.* 1363–5.

The hoard was acquired in its entirety by the Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry, which provided the money to pay the reward of the market value to the finder.

## CATALOGUE OF COINS

## ENGLAND

## EDWARD I AND II

<i>Pence</i>			<i>Fox class</i>	<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
1	Bristol		IIIc	16.3	1
2			IIIId	18.3	1
3	Bury		XIII	19.9	1
4–5	Canterbury		IVa	20.5, 16.6	2
6–7			IVc	20.3, 17.1	2
8			IXb	17.9	1
9			Xb	19.1	1
10–11			Xc-f (2)	20.3, 16.9	2
12			Xc-f (? 2)	17.3	1
13			Xc-f (3)	17.6	1
14			Xc-f (? 3)	19.7	1
15			XIII	19.1	1
16	Durham	Sede vacante	XIa	19.6	1
17	London		IIa	15.7	1
18			IIb	18.3	1
19			IIIc	18.6	1
20–1			IIIId	16.2, 15.9	2
22		EDVR	IIIId	17.1	1
23			IIIg	15.7	1
24–5			IVa	16.6, 15.5	2
26			IVe	19.5	1
27			Va	19.3	1
28			IXb	17.1	1

<sup>1</sup> W. J. W. Potter, 'The silver coinage of Edward III', *NC* 1962, pp. 216–18.

<i>Pence</i>			<i>Fox class</i>	<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
29			Xa/IXb	17.6	2
30-1			Xb	18.6, 17.4	2
32-7			Xc-f (1)	21.4, 19.0, 18.5, 16.9, 16.8, 15.3	6
38-40		One reads hyb	Xc-f (2)	20.3, 19.3, 16.2	3
41-5			Xc-f (3)	21.1, 21.0, 20.7, 20.1, 16.5	5
46			Xc-f (3)/XIb	20.5	1
47	York	Royal mint	IIIb	16.6	1

## EDWARD III

*Florin Coinage*

<i>Pence</i>			<i>Fox class</i>	<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
48-9	Canterbury		4	19.4, 18.5	2
50-2	Durham			18.5, 17.7 (2)	3
53-4	London		B/I	18.5, 18.1	2
55-6			3/II	17.7, 16.6	2
57-65			4/I	20.8, 20.3, 19.7 (2), 18.5, 17.7, 17.6, 17.4, 14.5	9
66-7			4/II	19.7, 17.6	2
68			4/III	15.9	1
69-70	York		4	18.1, 16.2	2

*Pre-Treaty Coinage*

<i>Groats</i>			<i>L.A.L. number</i>	<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
71-2	C	DEI G all arches fleured	12	71.4, 66.3	2
73			16	72.2	1
74		DEI G top arches not fleured	18	65.1	1
75-7		DI G all arches fleured	1	71.6, 70.8, 68.3	3
78-80		D G all arches fleured	27	71.4, 70.5, 67.7	3
81			30/31	70.2	1
82			?/32	68.3	1
83		D G top arches not fleured, MEV	23 (var.)	67.4	1
84	D	EDWARD D G°REX°ANGL° $\frac{1}{2}$ °FRANC dHY°B	-/7	70.8	1
85			8/6	71.9	1
86		No stop after DEVM	17/19 (var.)	72.2	1
87		C for E, normal F in FRANC, no stop after $\frac{1}{2}$	26 (var.)	69.1	1
88	E		10	69.9	1
89		No stops on obverse	13	71.9	1
90			17/18	68.1	1
91		EDVARD	22/17	72.1	1
92-3			25	71.3, 71.0	2
94		EDWAR°D°D G RE°X ANGL° $\frac{1}{2}$ °FRANC° D°HYB	-/26	71.3	1
95		Obverse legend uncertain	? 26	71.1	1
96		" " "	? 44	68.3	1
97		C and E broken on both sides	75	71.3	1
98		E/F	4	71.3	1

			<i>L.A.L. number</i>	<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
<i>Groats</i>					
99	F	POSVI°	1 (var.)	71.9	1
100			11/2	69.4	1
101		LON/DEN	13	70.7	1
102		c and e broken on reverse only	23	67.1	1
103-4	G	(a) annulet in CIVI quarter	1	71.1, 67.3	2
105		(a) „ TAS quarter	13/29	67.3	1
106		„ DON „	38	70.2	1
107		(b) „ LON quarter, /EMMEV/	27/24	66.6	1
108		(c) saltire in LON quarter	8	70.0	1
<i>Half-groats</i>					
109	B	Top arches not fleured FRANCI°	1/10	37.6	1
110-11	C	(a) All arches fleured ANGLI FRANCI	3	36.2, 34.4	2
112			4	35.5	1
113		FRACI	unnumbered	33.3	1
114		(b) all arches fleured ANGLI FRANC, /DEVMS/	9 (var.)	35.2	1
115-18		(c) top arches not fleured ANGLI FRACI	4	35.6, 35.2, 35.1, 33.6	4
119-27		(d) top arches not fleured ANGLI FRANC, all without annulet before ADIVT	6 (var.)	36.4, 36.3, 36.2, 35.9, 35.5, 35.3, 35.2, 34.8, 34.7	9
128		FRANC°	-/6	35.5	1
129-30			6/7	35.6, 34.8	2
131			6/? 7	34.5	1
132		No annulet after DEVMS	6/10 (var.)	34.4	1
133		ANGL FRANC	9	34.4	1
134-5		Uncertain readings of Cd type	?	36.0, 34.2	2
136	C/D	All arches fleured FRANC	1	34.8	1
137		LON/DEN TAS in 1st quarter	5	34.1	1
138		Top arches not fleured FRANC	3/1	35.3	1
139			4	34.7	1
140		FRANC°	-/4	36.2	1
141-2	D	Top arches not fleured FRACI, /°ADIVT/	3/-	34.5, 34.2	2
143			1/4	35.6	1
144		C for E, annulet after EDWARDVS	5 (var.)	35.0	1
145		Obverse stops illegible POS°/VI(?)DEV/ ADIVT	?	30.7	1
146	D/E	c for e, reverse R illegible	? 2	34.5	1
147	E/D	ANGIL F inverted in FRACI	E, 12*/D, 4	35.6	1
148	E	ANGL FRACI°	5/? 3	34.8	1
149		POS/VIDE°V/A	5/-	33.1	1
150		POS/VI°DEV/A, c and e broken on reverse	5/-	33.6	1
151-2		Reverse stops uncertain	5/?	36.2, 35.8	2
153		ANGIL FRACI	13	35.3	1
154	F	ANGLI FRACI POS/VA	2	33.8	1
155		CIVI in 1st quarter	2/7 (var.)	35.6	1
156	E/G	ANGL FRACI LON in 1st quarter	7 (var.)	34.1	1
157	F/G	ANGIL FRAC POS/VI°DEV/	F, 5/?	33.6	1
158	G	(a) top arches not fleured FRANC	11	37.1	1
159		(b-f) arches at top and by hair not fleured	1	29.9	1

			<i>L.A.L. number</i>	<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
<i>Half-groats</i>					
<i>York</i>					
160	E	End of obverse legend uncertain	?/3	34.5	1
161		ANGL FRA///°	?/14	31.6	1
162-3		ANGL FRACI C and E broken on obverse	? 21 (var.)	35.2, 32.7	2
164		ANGL F°RACI C and E broken on obverse, EBO in 1st quarter	23 (var.)	35.2	1
<i>Pence</i>					
<i>Durham</i>					
165-71	C	ANGLI	3	18.5, 17.7 (2), 17.3 (2), 16.3, 15.7	7
172-3	D	ANGLI°†	1	18.2, 16.0	2
174		ANGIL°†	—	17.4	1
175	E	ANGLI†	2	17.1	1
176		ANGLI°°	3	17.4	1
177	G	(b) ANGLI†	1	16.8	1
178		(d) ANGLI†	unnumbered	17.9	1
179		(g) end of obverse legend uncertain	1 or 2	17.9	1
180-1		(g/h) trefoil of pellets on breast	—	17.3, 16.5	2
182		Sub-type uncertain	?	19.4	1
<i>London</i>					
183	A	ANGLIE° Lombardic NS both sides, annulet above T in TAS	3 (var.)	17.4	1
184	A/C	ANGLIE	1-2	16.9	1
185-91	C		1-5	17.9 (2), 17.3, 16.9, 16.8 (2), 14.8	7
192	C/? D	ANGL'	1	17.9	1
193-5		ANGLIE	2-3	17.1, 16.9, 16.6	3
196	D/C		1	17.7	1
197-200	D		1	17.4, 17.3, 17.1, 15.4	4
201			3	18.3	1
202-3	E		1	17.1, 15.9	2
204	F/Ga	Pellet in CIVI quarter	1	16.8	1
205	Ga/Gc	Pellet stops, pellet below bust, saltire in LON quarter	—	18.1	1
<i>York</i>					
206	D	Ecclesiastical mint	unnumbered	17.6	1
207	E	Royal mint, obverse details uncertain	2-6	16.6	1
208-11	G	(g) Ecclesiastical mint	1	17.9, 17.6, 17.3, 16.6	4
212-13		Ecclesiastical mint, details uncertain	?	17.7, 16.9	2
<i>Treaty Coinage</i>					
<i>Half-groat</i>					
<i>London</i>					
214	I	(f) double annulet stops/double saltire stops	1-12	35.3	1



<i>Pence</i>			<i>L.A.L. number</i>	<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
	<i>London</i>				
215		(f) Double annulet stops hyb, saltire after DON	2	17·6	1
	<i>York</i>				
216		Ecclesiastical mint	2	17·1	1
217-18		ANGLI pellet stops annulet before EDWARDVS	6	18·1, 16·8	2
IRELAND					
EDWARD I					
<i>Penny</i>				<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
219	<i>Dublin</i>	Allen class Hi, Dolley 6th coinage large lettering on reverse		19·3	1
SCOTLAND					
ALEXANDER III 1249-86					
<i>2nd Coinage 1280-6</i>					
<i>Pence</i>				<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
220	2 mullets of 6 pts., 2 stars of 7 pts.	St., E		16·9	1
221	4 mullets of 6 pts.	St., G/E		18·2	1
DAVID II 1329-71					
<i>2nd Coinage 1357-67</i>					
<i>Half-groats</i>				<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
222	<i>Edinburgh</i>	DAVID × DEI × REX × SCOTORVM Saltire stops DñS/PROT <sup>o</sup> /ECTOR/ME(VS)	St., A5, B. 1	33·6	1
223		DAVID + DEI + GRA + REX + SCOTORV' CROSS stops DñS/ PROT/EC(TOR/M)EVS	St., A6, B. 3	37·6	1
CONTINENTAL					
				<i>Weight/gr.</i>	
		Imitation of English type probably struck in Flanders			
224		As early Edward I penny of London but pellet topped L and tressure in D		12·5	1
		Luxemburg, John the Blind 1309-46			
225	<i>Meraude</i>	IOHAES DEI GRA (REX B)	Ch. 179 (var.)	16·9	1

# THE SALUTES OF HENRY VI

R. D. BERESFORD-JONES

## I. *Origin, design, and mint-marks*<sup>1</sup>

THE subject of this paper is the reconsideration of the salutes of Henry VI. These were the principal gold coins struck in his name after his accession to the throne of France in 1422; they formed the greater part of the gold in circulation in Lancastrian France during the twenty-seven years of English rule. A smaller gold coin, the angelot, in value two-thirds of a salute, was also struck, but the issues were small and infrequent, and they will not be dealt with in this paper.

The salutes of Henry VI were struck at ten mints situated throughout the northern part of France. Each of these was under local control, but the dies for the coinage were manufactured in Paris and an examination of the punches used reveals that they can be divided into two well-defined and coherent groups.

Some preliminaries first. The name salute refers to the iconography of the obverse which shows the Annunciation. As regards the previous history of the coin, a salute was struck in both gold and silver by Charles I (of Anjou) King of Naples (1256–85) and by his son Charles II (1285–1309).<sup>2</sup> The obverse of these salutes shows the archangel Gabriel on the left and the Virgin on the right, both standing, while between them is a vase containing a lily. The reverse bears a shield with the royal arms, Jerusalem and Anjou impaled.

The first French salutes were gold coins struck in 1419 in the name of Charles VI.<sup>3</sup> In 1420 Henry of England, Charles's son-in-law, struck similar coins in Normandy.<sup>4</sup>

On the salute of Charles VI a crowned shield bearing the royal arms is placed upon the obverse and the angel and the Virgin stand on either side of it, rather like heraldic supporters. The vase with the lily is omitted, but above the shield a scroll is introduced and written on it is the word *Ave*, the first word of the angel's salutation (whence the name of the coin), while rays of light descend from above.

For the reverse a completely new design was prepared. A Latin cross occupies the centre of the field, flanked by two fleurs-de-lis and with a large letter K at its foot. The field is surrounded by a tressure of arches pointed with small fleurs-de-lis. This was adapted for the salutes of Henry V by substituting the letter H for K at the foot of the cross and a leopard or lion passant for the sinister fleur-de-lis in the field.

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the coinage the primary work of reference is F. de Saulcy's *Histoire numismatique de Henri V et Henri VI rois d'Angleterre pendant qu'ils ont régné en France*, Paris, Van Peteghem, 1878 (cited as De Saulcy in what follows). The largest groups of illustrations of salutes of Henry VI are to be found in two recent sale catalogues, 'Trésor de l'abbaye Sainte Trinité de la Luzerne', Paris, Hotel Drouot, 12 April 1969, and 'Trésor de l'Abbé Philippe de Saint Pierre', Hotel Drouot, 9 March 1970. These were portions of a single hoard deposited between 1449 and 1452 at the Abbaye Sainte Trinité and dis-

covered during restoration work there in 1968. The first sale contained 24 salutes and 2 angelots, with 8 French regal pieces, making a total of 34 gold coins, while the second sale contained 60 salutes and 2 angelots with 9 French regal pieces, a total of 71 coins making 105 in all.

<sup>2</sup> *CNI* xix, Charles I p. 13, pl. ii, no. 6; *ibid.*, Charles II p. 15, pl. ii, no. 8.

<sup>3</sup> J. Lafaurie, *Les Monnaies des rois de France*, vol. i, p. 53 and pl. xxiii, no. 413.

<sup>4</sup> Lafaurie, *op. cit.*, p. 91 and pl. xxix, no. 437.

The choice of the salute therefore for the gold coinage of Henry VI followed naturally from the coinage of his father and his grandfather.

The design of the salute of Henry VI, nevertheless, shows considerable modification on the obverse. In place of the single shield, two uncrowned shields were placed side by side. The sinister shield bore the arms of France and England quarterly, the dexter the arms of France alone.

The juxtaposition of two shields, symbolizing the coming together of two inheritances, occurs also upon the coins of Philip the Bold, the first Valois Duke of Burgundy, and of his successors.<sup>1</sup> Philip became count of Flanders in right of his wife Margaret, and coins with the shields of Burgundy and Flanders side by side were struck by him and by his son John the Fearless and his grandson Philip the Good. The political significance of this precedent is that it was the support and influence of Burgundy which enabled the English to maintain their ascendancy in France.

At the time of the invasion of Normandy by Henry V, the kingdom of France was split into two factions which had remained irreconcilable since the murder of Louis, Duke of Orleans, in 1407. These factions were the Armagnacs, who controlled the south and west, and the Burgundians who controlled the north and east. The English negotiated with both sides but eventually allied themselves with Burgundy, which seemed to be in the stronger position, a judgement which was confirmed when in 1418 John the Fearless occupied Paris with the consent of the citizens. The kingdom of France to which Henry VI succeeded, therefore, was actually an Anglo-Burgundian kingdom not an Anglo-French one, and we shall find that Henry's coinage also is organizationally Anglo-Burgundian.

From the heraldic standpoint the twin shields on the salute are slightly curious, since the English arms were already quartered with France by Edward III and in succeeding to the crown of France Henry VI was only acquiring what his coat of arms already claimed. The heraldry of the twin shields seems to emphasize his double claim, the original one through Edward III and the more immediate one through his mother and the Treaty of Troyes. It seems that by 1420 Edward III's quartering of France with England was a matter as much of tradition as of serious political claim. The ordinance of 6 September 1423 simply states that the coins will be struck 'with the arms of France and England'.<sup>2</sup>

The effect of placing two shields in the lower half of the field was to cut off the figures of the angel and the Virgin at the waist, and to require their being placed closer together. This improves the balance of the design by filling the upper half of the field and bringing the figures into closer relation. At the same time they were transposed, the Virgin now being put on the left, while the scroll was moved from the horizontal to the vertical so as to hang between the two figures.

The design is completed by a mint-mark at the top of the coin immediately below which are five rays (representing the Holy Ghost) shining downwards. The outer circle is filled by the legend: HENRICVS: DEI: GRA: FRACORV: Z: ANGLIE: REX.

The first salute of Henry VI was ordered on 6 February 1423;<sup>3</sup> it was to be struck at 65 to the mark, a weight of 64.5 grains each, the same as the salute of Henry V. No salute of Henry VI of this weight has ever been found; probably none was struck.

<sup>1</sup> A. Dieudonné, *Monnaies féodales*, p. 189 and pl. v, no. 4.

<sup>2</sup> De Saulcy, pp. 28 and 30.

<sup>3</sup> De Saulcy, p. 19.

The first salutes that survive, and which I will therefore call the first issue of Henry VI, were struck under the second order dated 6 September 1423.<sup>1</sup> This provided for salutes to be struck at 70 to the mark (58 grains each). However, the specimens I have examined are generally below this; those that I have weighed of various mints have shown weights of up to 54 grains, very rarely more. It seems that the actual practice of the mints was to strike salutes about equal in weight to the English half-noble. This equation is indirectly confirmed by the provision in the order of 6 September 1423 that salutes should be current for 22s. 6d. tournois, the rate which was fixed for the half-noble in a decree of 22 June 1423.<sup>2</sup>

On his accession under the Treaty of Troyes, Henry VI was acknowledged as King of France by three parts of the country, by Normandy, by the city of Paris, and by those provinces in the north and east which were under the control of Philip the Good, who was a signatory to the Treaty. It followed that close co-operation with Burgundy was essential if the English position was to be maintained.

The regent of France for Henry VI was John, Duke of Bedford, one of the king's uncles. He had fought under Henry V, whose policy he understood and continued. Indeed, he drew even closer the links that bound England to Burgundy by marrying Philip the Good's sister, and in 1422 he even offered Philip the regency, which Philip declined. Maybe the Duke of Burgundy wished to keep his freedom to change sides if circumstances should make that desirable. However, after his refusal of the regency he remained loyal to the Treaty and the alliance worked well on the whole. The existing officials who, except in Normandy, were Burgundian appointees, remained in office. Perhaps as a consequence of this the new government did little to reform the administration or to correct its many deficiencies. However, in the sphere of the currency the regent and the Duke of Burgundy did deliberately adopt the policy of having a stable and uniform coinage.

They set about this by organizing central control of the various royal mints scattered through their territories. Headquarters were established at Paris, where there was a *maître général*<sup>3</sup> over all the mints, responsible to the regency council. A single exception was made for the mint of Dijon which was autonomous, being situated within the duchy of Burgundy.

The majority of the mints were not newly founded but were already in existence. In using them the regent followed the traditional French practice. In the reign of Charles VI there were normally some twenty royal mints in operation striking a uniform coinage, each using its distinctive privy mark.<sup>4</sup> The system of marking, which consisted in principle of a pellet under a different letter of the legend for each mint, had been taken over by Henry V. When he struck coins at Rouen they were marked with a pellet under the twentieth letter.<sup>5</sup>

After the accession of Henry VI the system was reorganized. The *maître général* at Paris was given control of all the thirteen mints which struck in Henry's name. Of these three struck silver. It is with the ten mints which struck gold that this paper will be concerned.

An order was made on 12 December 1422,<sup>6</sup> by which each mint was allotted a mark

<sup>1</sup> De Saulcy, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> De Saulcy, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Lafaurie, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 72 and 80.

<sup>4</sup> The successive *maîtres généraux* are listed by De Saulcy, p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> L. C. Hewlett, *Anglo Gallic Coins*, p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> De Saulcy, p. 17.



of heraldic character which was placed at the head of the legend on obverse and reverse. The following list gives the marks of the ten mints which struck gold:<sup>1</sup>

Paris	crown
Amiens	paschal lamb
Dijon	vernicle
Rouen	leopard (lion passant)
St. Lô	lis
Auxerre	mill rind
St. Quentin	mullet
Troyes	rose
Châlons	crescent
Le Mans	root

The old method of placing a pellet in the legend was not entirely abandoned, but was now used as a privy mark to denote a change of masters at a mint. Each mint had a separate staff under the control of its own master, who was appointed locally and with his guarantors and officers was responsible for the manufacture and for the weight and fineness of the coins issued from his mint.<sup>2</sup>

The appointment of a local mint-master was for one year only and at the year's end the office was put up for auction to the highest bidder who could provide the necessary guarantors. This was the normal practice for such appointments. The annual change of masters involved closure of the mint for stock-taking and inspection pending the renewal of the appointment or a change of master. In most cases there was a change of master and a privy mark was added to the coins of the succeeding issues. The *maître général* in Paris could thus readily establish responsibility for any faults of striking, weight, or fineness which might be discovered in the trials of the samples submitted.

This system enables us to distinguish between the successive issues at each mint. However, only for Rouen are the documents available which enable us to identify these issues. We are therefore in a position to identify only the first issue from each mint, namely the issue without a privy mark (see below, p. 71), and to make a comparison between the mints on the basis only of the first issue. For a subsequent detailed history, we are restricted to Rouen. The Appendix to this paper sets out in detail the various issues, but it does not pretend to give them in chronological order.

## II. *The First Issue salutes of Henry VI and their mints*

Rather than treat the mints one at a time, I propose to make a comparative study of the first issue of salutes for each mint.

We know that the mints of Henry VI were centrally controlled from Paris and, although the documents are incomplete, it is reasonable to suppose that the dies for the various mints were issued from there.<sup>3</sup> An exception has, however, to be made in the case of Dijon, where the Duke of Burgundy had his own die-maker, by name Jehan Dast.<sup>4</sup> The exceptional position of Dijon can best be explained by reference to the political situation of the duchy of Burgundy.

<sup>1</sup> De Saulcy, p. 18 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> De Saulcy, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> De Saulcy, pp. 22 and 40.

<sup>4</sup> De Saulcy, p. 50.

In 1361, the Duke of Burgundy dying leaving no heir, the duchy escheated to the Crown of France. King John II of France then conferred it upon his youngest son, Philip the Bold, as an appanage. Later Philip the Bold married Margaret, heiress of Louis de Maele, Count of Flanders, and through her he inherited various territories including the county of Burgundy, later known as Franche Comté. These enlarged dominions were in due course inherited by his grandson, Philip the Good (1419-67) with whose coinage we are concerned here. In his time Burgundy had two mints, one at Dijon and the other at Auxonne. Their status was different. The Dijon mint was technically royal, being situated in the duchy conferred on Philip's grandfather in 1361. The Auxonne mint was in the county of Burgundy which technically, as a fief of the empire, was outside French jurisdiction. Consequently the coins struck at Dijon were in the name of the King of France. The coins struck at Auxonne were in the duke's own name.

In the reign of Philip the Good therefore, in spite of suggestions to the contrary,<sup>1</sup> there is no possibility that salutes in the name of Henry VI could have been struck at Auxonne. Indeed no gold coins of any kind were struck at Auxonne during the time of Henry VI although silver coins of the mint are known. These are *grand blancs* of the same style as those of Henry VI but with PHILIPVS DVX in place of HERICVS REX, a lion rampant in place of the lion passant on the reverse and the juxtaposed shields of Burgundy ancient and Burgundy modern in place of those of France and England.<sup>2</sup> The mint-mark is a pellet under the first letter of the legend; *grand blancs* are known of other mints in the county of Burgundy with a variety of mint-marks based on the same principle.

The control exercised from Paris over the mint at Dijon was at first merely nominal, though it seems that later the regent tried to tighten it and to bring Dijon into the general system.<sup>3</sup> The independence of the design of the Dijon salutes can be seen at once if we look at the punches used for the figures of the Virgin and the angel (Plate I, 23). The Virgin bows with her hands crossed over her breast and the angel is in profile and points to the scroll with his forefinger. On the salutes of other mints it is the Virgin who points.

Apart from Dijon there remain the nine mints which came under the control of Paris, and in order to determine which of these participated in the first issue we must examine their known coins. The earliest should be those with no privy mark in the legend, since such a mark denoting a change of mint-master would not have been needed on the initial issue. The majority of the coins of the nine mints which bear no privy mark have pellet stops on the obverse. One exception, St. Quentin, has saltire stops and thus falls outside the group; it will be dealt with later. In the case of Amiens, which has several dies with no privy mark, I have taken the single die with pellet stops<sup>4</sup> as being of the first issue.

A comparison of the punches used for the Virgin and the angel and for the wording on the scroll enables us to divide the eight mints into two groups. The first group includes Paris (the salute of Pierre de Landes), Amiens, Auxerre, Troyes, and Chalons. The dies from all of these have been made from the same punches, and although we have no record the assumption must be that they were made in Paris and distributed from there. The characteristics of this group I are set out in the Appendix.

<sup>1</sup> Hewlett, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Dieudonné, op. cit., p. 211 and pl. vi, no. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Dieudonné, op. cit., p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> R. C. Lockett sale, pt. iii (Continental), no. 44 (ill.).

The location of the five mints goes to confirm our placing them in a single group. They all lie north or east of Paris and were previously striking coins for Charles VI.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of group II we have records that the dies were sent from Paris.<sup>2</sup> This group consists of Rouen, St. Lô, and Le Mans, all west of Paris in Normandy and Maine, provinces actually conquered by the English. This group, also, therefore is politically coherent.

The coins of group II are quite different from those of group I in the treatment and style of the Virgin and the angel. Their faces are rounder and fuller, less elegant but more realistic, while Gothic mannerism is entirely absent. Their characteristics are set out in the Appendix.

Since, as we have seen, the dies of group II were made in Paris we might expect to find a connection between the coins of this group and the Paris mint. We can do so, but not with the first Paris issue. On the second issue, however, that of Arnoulet Rame, appointed mint-master on 14 December 1423,<sup>3</sup> the obverses show all the characteristics of group II. These are set out in detail in the Appendix.

It may be noted that while different punches were used for the dies of the two groups there is no discernible difference between them in the lettering of the legends.

It remains to consider the mint of St. Quentin. The coins of this mint are extremely rare. In fact I know of only two specimens, Hewlett's coin, now in the British Museum, and my own. On these coins the figures of the Virgin and the angel are different from both those of group I and group II, though their strongly Gothic character relates them more to group I. It is noteworthy that St. Quentin lies in the group I area, and was a mint of Charles VI.

A further distinguishing feature of this group III, the full details of which are set out in the Appendix, is that it has saltire stops on the obverse and rosettes on the reverse whereas groups I and II have pellets on the obverse and star stops on the reverse.

Only two other mints have saltire stops on the obverse. One is Dijon, whose characteristics are in other respects so different that we have placed it by itself in group IV. The second is Amiens, where the second and later issues of salutes conform exactly to group III criteria (Plate I, 6). One of these<sup>4</sup> is undoubtedly struck from dies made with the same punches as those used for St. Quentin.

The connection between St. Quentin and Amiens, which both lie on the river Somme only some forty miles apart, is confirmed by the records. Two mint-masters, Jehan de Breban and Pierre Grumeau, held office at different times at both mints.<sup>5</sup>

It appears that St. Quentin and Amiens began to strike salutes later than the mints of group I.

From this examination of the mints as a whole, it is clear that the dies were not issued haphazardly, but in distinct groups with the mint of Paris slipping from one group into the other when Arnoulet Rame was appointed master of the mint in place of Pierre de Landes on 14 December 1423. The coins of group III were first struck at least a year after the first issue of salutes of group I and correspond with the second issue of salutes of that group.

The grouping has a political as well as a geographical significance. The mints of group

<sup>1</sup> Lafaurie, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> De Saulcy, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> De Saulcy, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> R. D. Beresford-Jones, *Anglo Gallic gold*, p. 81, no. 571.

<sup>5</sup> De Saulcy, pp. 114 and 115.

I and group III were under the control of the Duke of Burgundy, those of group II under the control of the regent, Bedford. Perhaps the transfer of Paris from the first to the second group may be read as having a political significance.

The longest lasting of the coinages is that which falls within group II. The mint of Rouen was the only one in continuous operation for the whole period of Henry VI's nominal reign in France and its records are unique in their completeness. For the other mints there is not enough evidence, numismatic or documentary, for a detailed history of the later issues. An Appendix showing the various issues will be found at the end of this paper. It remains to consider the very complete evidence which exists for the later history of the Rouen mint.

The salute of group II, which became the typical Rouen salute, can be traced originally to Paris.

It remains obscure whether there was any political significance in the appointment of Arnoulet Rame as mint-master at Paris and the simultaneous issue there of salutes of group II. There is only one documented instance of a political mint appointment at that period, namely that of Pierre le Clerc to the mint of Paris in December 1422 'for the notable services which he did in the past'.<sup>1</sup> He was none other than the notorious Perriquet le Clerc who had opened the gates of Paris to the Burgundian faction in 1418. However, he was appointed as 'moneyer', not as master of the mint.

The succession leading up to Arnoulet Rame's appointment was as follows. The master in February 1423 was Regnault Tumery.<sup>2</sup> He was imprisoned and replaced in October 1423 by Pierre de Landes, who was responsible for the first (group I) issue of Paris salutes.<sup>3</sup> Less than three months later, in December 1423, Arnoulet Rame was appointed. He it was who produced the second Paris issue, corresponding to those salutes then first issued from the Normandy mints. He remained in office for nearly a year, then in 1424 was mentioned as 'lately master of the Paris mint'.<sup>4</sup> After a short interval, in March 1425, Francorin Sac was appointed master, in charge of gold coinage only.<sup>5</sup> Then in March 1426 Regnault Tumery, having been released from prison, took over from Sac.<sup>6</sup>

We do not know whether Arnoulet's appointment was due to English influence. However, his group II salutes are as exceptional among the normal Paris coins as his name is intrusive in the alternation of Pierre de Landes and Reynault Tumery, who normally held office at the Paris mint in the years 1422-35.<sup>7</sup>

At the Normandy mints, however, Arnoulet Rame's group II salute persisted for twenty-five years. Let us follow its course.

### III. *The salutes of Rouen*

The striking of salutes at Rouen in the name of Henry VI can be divided into three periods:

- (i) The early period from 1423 to 1433.
- (ii) The period of Etienne Marcel's main output, from 1433 to 1444.

<sup>1</sup> De Saulcy, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> De Saulcy, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> De Saulcy, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> De Saulcy, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> De Saulcy, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> De Saulcy, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> De Saulcy, pp. 108-11.



(iii) The last period from 1444 to the closure of the mint in 1448.

There were three masters of the mint during the early period:<sup>1</sup>

Robin Lambert, July–November 1423

George Bocquet, appointed 1424

Etienne Marcel, from April 1426

It is unlikely that any salutes were struck by Robin Lambert, since the coins were not ordered until September 1423. Consequently the coins with no privy mark can be attributed to George Bocquet. This conclusion is supported by the fact that he undertook on his appointment to strike 1,050 marks in gold,<sup>2</sup> which at seventy-five to the mark give a total of 78,750 salutes.

Etienne Marcel was ordered on his appointment to place an annulet enclosing a pellet as a privy mark under the last letter of the legend of all his salutes.<sup>3</sup> But there is no record of his having struck salutes in the years 1426–33. This is presumably due to there being simultaneously a considerable output of salutes from the neighbouring mint of St. Lô. Elsewhere the eastern and southern mints were in production, and Paris was striking gold in large quantities.

The early period was not terminated by a change of master. On the contrary, Etienne Marcel, who had been reappointed annually for six years, was confirmed permanently in the post. This was unusual, since at most mints changes in mastership were frequent and often annual. He must have given satisfaction.

During the early period everything was going well for the English. The political alliance with Burgundy was working smoothly. The eastern and southern mints were in production, and Paris was striking gold in large quantities. A mint was opened at Le Mans in October 1425 to strike coins for the newly conquered territories.<sup>4</sup> The new coinage circulated freely throughout the Anglo-Burgundian kingdom.

For the whole of the second period the mint of Rouen was under a single master, Etienne Marcel. Its output expanded, the total of the salutes for the eleven years 1433 to 1444 being recorded as 355,600.<sup>5</sup> These salutes have the privy mark annulet enclosing pellet under the x of Rex and the τ of Imperat, and this is by far the commonest Rouen privy mark found today.

The appointment of Etienne Marcel was formerly made by the *maistre général* in Paris but in April 1435 he was appointed *en régie*,<sup>5</sup> that is directly under the government. Thus he continued in office until October 1444. When he gave up the place of master of the Rouen mint it was to become *maistre général*, though of the Normandy mints only, Paris and the eastern mints being by then in the hands of Charles VII.

The political background to this second period was one of deteriorating English fortunes. Bedford's wife, the daughter of Philip the Good, had died in 1432 and Burgundy began to negotiate with Charles VII. In 1433 at the conference of St. Omer the Dukes of Burgundy and Bedford refused to visit one another in spite of the mediation of Cardinal Beaufort. The alliance on which the English depended for their hold on Paris was breaking down. In 1435 it broke down; the Treaty of Arras was signed between France and Burgundy, and within a few days of that the Duke of Bedford died.

<sup>1</sup> De Saulcy, pp. 111–12.

<sup>2</sup> De Saulcy, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. De Saulcy, pp. 69–70 (document stating that Marcel used this privy mark on salutes 'pour tout le

temps passé qu'il a esté maistre particulier de la monnoie de Rouen').

<sup>4</sup> De Saulcy, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> De Saulcy, p. 64.

By 1435 the mints east of Paris had mostly ceased production, partly no doubt as a result of the successes of the French army's campaigns in Champagne. In the west Maine was lost. Le Mans ceased coining for Henry VI in 1432. It is not surprising therefore that the policy was to concentrate the striking of salutes at Rouen. In implementation of this policy the striking of gold was suspended at Paris by an order dated 19 February 1435.<sup>1</sup>

During the second period, therefore, it was necessary to expand the production at the Rouen mint. Annual figures are not available, so our further information must come from the coins themselves.

The Rouen salutes of this period are all derived from the second Paris (group II) issue. Indeed although Paris was not striking gold for most of the time, it may still have been supplying the dies since the earliest record of a die-maker at Rouen is in 1444.<sup>2</sup>

No privy marks other than that of Etienne Marcel are discoverable on any of the Rouen salutes of the second period, and there are no significant variations in the lettering used or in the stops. However, on the basis of the punches used for the figure of the Virgin, the coins can be divided into two classes. On coins of the first class the Virgin has a halo which only half encircles her head and is very close to it (as on salutes of the Paris second issue) whereas on coins of the second class the halo encircles her head completely. Class I must be presumed to be the earlier since it corresponds to salutes of the first (unmarked) Rouen issue.

Class I may be further subdivided into classes Ia and Ib as follows.

In class Ia the punches correspond to those used for the salutes of the first issue. The Virgin has a double-ringed halo half-way round her head, which lies close to the inner circle. The angel is nearly full face, and leans forward so that his cheek nearly touches the scroll.

In class Ib the Virgin's halo, still double ringed, comes two-thirds of the way round her head, and there is a clear space between that and the inner circle. The face of the angel is in profile and he leans backwards, away from the scroll.

Class II may also be subdivided. In class IIa the single-ringed halo completely frames the Virgin's head, not touching it at any point. The angel is in profile, his pose upright and very stiff; he is probably struck from the same punch as in class Ib, but the pose is different.

In class IIb the Virgin's halo is similar to that in class IIa, but at some points it touches her hair. The angel is three-quarter face, leaning slightly forward and relaxed in his pose.

The reverses are more difficult to distinguish, though there is some difference in style between the reverses of classes I and II. On coins of class I the central cross is less graceful and its arms just slightly thicker than those of the cross on class II. The arms are also slightly shorter: 6.5–7 mm. for class I as compared with nearly 8 mm. on class II.

I have not found any differences as between the letter punches used in classes Ia and Ib. On the reverses of class II a slightly narrower  $\mathfrak{N}$  is used than in class I and there is a slight difference in the serifs of letter G. The most marked differences in lettering occur within class II. On some coins we find  $\mathfrak{N}$  for  $\mathfrak{H}$  and on others the letter  $\pi$  below the cross in place of  $\mathfrak{H}$ . However, these distinctions do not correspond to our classification of IIa and IIb.

<sup>1</sup> De Saulcy, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> De Saulcy, p. 112.

Nevertheless, the fact that different punches were used for one figure or another on each of our four sub-classes does seem to point at least to four successive issues of obverse dies for the salute during the eleven years' currency of Etienne Marcel's privy mark.

This second period of coinage at Rouen was one of expansion of output and increased importance for the mint. In 1436 Paris surrendered to Charles VII. Thenceforward there was growing opposition to English rule and in 1437 there was a rising in Normandy, suppressed by Richard Duke of York. However, the commercial classes remained loyal to England; their trade probably benefited from the surrender of Paris and the consequent transfer of minting activity to Rouen. To the end of this period Normandy remained firmly under English control.

The third period of the Rouen mint begins with Etienne Marcel's promotion to the post of *maître général* on 1 October 1444 and ends with the closure of the mint in January 1449. Rouen was finally captured by the French in November 1449.

During this period of four years and a quarter there were three successive mint-masters under whom the mint remained in full production. We have some detailed figures for this period. It is recorded that between January and October 1445 80,600 salutes were struck. During the last two years, however, output fell to 17,000 per annum.<sup>1</sup>

The first master after Etienne Marcel was Jacquet de Bresmes. He was appointed on 21 October 1444, but he only lasted a month. His privy mark was a star under the last letter of the legends. He struck 5,200 salutes, but I have not found one.

From January 1445 to November 1446 Guillaume le Monnier and Thomasin Erquembourg were masters, either jointly or severally. They used the same privy mark throughout, namely a pellet under the penultimate letters of the legends. They struck 105,600 salutes.

From December 1446 to January 1449 the master was Pierre de Preaulx. His privy mark was a pellet within an annulet, the same as that of Etienne Marcel, but placed under the penultimate letters of the legends. He struck 34,200 salutes.

The closure of the mint in January 1449 was no doubt owing to the deteriorating military situation. In the course of its existence as a mint of Henry VI Rouen had been through two distinct phases. From 1422 to 1433 it was a local mint, one of ten and by no means the most important. Then, in 1433, the regent changed his policy and centralized the striking of coinage at Rouen. He had several reasons for this. He knew that his alliance with Burgundy was weakening and that his hold on Paris, the central mint, was becoming precarious. If he lost Paris, Rouen was the most defensible position in Normandy, as well as being the local capital whose burgesses had become loyal to the English.

Finally, at Rouen the master of the mint had already by 1435 been in office for seven years continuously. This record suggests that he was a man of unusual loyalty who would give satisfaction when greater responsibility was imposed upon him. It appears that this confidence was justified. Etienne Marcel continued in office *en régie* for nine years and only relinquished his position to be promoted to *maître général*. He appears to have been responsible for four successive issues of salutes, the most prolific of all the coinages issued by the Lancastrians in France. He supervised his successors as master of the mint until its closure in January 1449.

The history of the Rouen mint provides one of those examples of satisfactory civil

<sup>1</sup> De Saulcy, pp. 68-70.

administration by the English which contrasts so strongly with the political and military misjudgements which characterize the terminal phase of the English government in France.

## APPENDIX

## SUMMARY OF ISSUES BY MINTS

1. Paris mint  
Open 1423-36. Mint-mark: crown or crown annulet  
First issue Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
Mint-mark: crown. No privy mark.  
Ordered 6 September 1423.  
No output figures.  
Scarce. *Plate I. 1*  
Second issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
Mint-mark: crown. Privy mark: AVE written downwards and M for Ω.  
Ordered 17 December 1423.  
No output figures.  
Rare. *Plate I. 10*  
Third issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
Mint-mark: crown. Privy mark: pellet under T of REGNAT.  
Ordered 24 April 1426.  
No output figures.  
No specimen known.  
Fourth issue. Pellet stops on obv., pellets and stars, sometimes with colon, on rev.  
Mint-mark: crown with annulet.  
Privy mark: N for Ω.  
Ordered during 1427 (no date given).  
No output figures.  
Rare. *Plate I. 14*  
Fifth issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
Mint-mark: crown. Privy mark: annulet under penultimate letter of inscription.  
Ordered 18 January 1435.  
No output figures.  
Extremely rare. *Plate I. 17*
2. Troyes mint  
Open 1423-9. Mint-mark: rose.
- All coins have pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
No privy mark.  
Ordered 24 May 1427.  
No output figures.  
Three coins known (from two pairs of dies). *Plate I. 2*
3. Auxerre mint  
Open 1423-9. Mint-mark: mill-rind.  
All coins have pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
No privy mark.  
Ordered 28 May 1428.  
No output figures.  
Extremely rare (two pairs of dies). *Plate I. 3*
4. Châlons-sur-Marne mint  
Open 1423-9. Mint-mark: crescent.  
All coins have pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
No privy mark.  
Ordered 9 September 1427.  
No output figures.  
Extremely rare. *Plate I. 4*
5. Amiens mint  
Open 1423-35. Mint-mark: paschal lamb.  
First issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
No privy mark.  
Ordered 19 February 1424.  
No output figures.  
Extremely rare. *Plate I. 5*  
Second issue. Saltire stops on obv., rosettes on rev.  
No privy mark.  
Ordered 2 August 1426.  
15,400 struck.  
Very rare. *Plate I. 6*  
Third issue. Saltire stops on obv., rosettes on rev.  
Ordered 14 September 1427.  
158,600 struck.  
Rare or very rare varieties. *Plate I. 8*



Fourth issue. Saltire stops on obv., rosettes on rev.  
 Privy mark: annulet under penultimate letter.  
 Ordered 11 February 1435.  
 33,400 struck.  
 Very rare. *Plate I. 9*

6. St. Quentin mint  
 Open 1423–8. Mint-mark: spur rowel.  
 All coins have saltire stops on obv., rosettes on rev.  
 No privy mark.  
 Ordered 27 May 1426.  
 No output figures.  
 Three examples known, from three different dies. *Plate I. 7*

7. Rouen mint  
 Open 1423–48. Mint-mark: leopard.  
 First issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
 No privy mark.  
 Ordered 8 May 1423.  
 No output figures.  
 Scarce. *Plate I. 11*

Second issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
 Privy mark: pellet within annulet under last letter.  
 Ordered 18 March 1433.  
 355,600 struck.  
 Common. *Plate I. 15*

Third issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
 Privy mark: star under last letter.  
 Ordered 21 October 1444.  
 5,200 struck.  
 No specimen known.

Fourth issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
 Privy mark: pellet under last letter.  
 Ordered 21 January 1445.  
 103,600 struck.  
 Extremely rare. *Plate I. 18*

Fifth issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
 Privy mark: pellet within annulet under penultimate letter.  
 Ordered 10 December 1446.  
 64,200 struck.  
 Extremely rare. *Plate I. 20*

8. St. Lô mint  
 Open 1423–32. Mint-mark: fleur-de-lis.  
 First issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
 No privy mark.  
 Ordered 8 May 1423.

No output figures.  
 Scarce, several different dies.  
*Plate I. 12*

Second issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
 Privy mark: annulet under third letter.  
 Ordered 27 April 1426.

No output figures.  
 Very rare. *Plate I. 16*

Third issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
 Privy mark: annulet under Henri and Vincit, fifth letter.  
 Ordered 27 April 1427.

No output figures.  
 Very rare. *Plate I. 19*

Fourth issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
 Privy mark: pellet under 29th letter.  
 Ordered 27 April 1428.

No output figures.  
 Very rare. *Plate I. 21*

Fifth issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.  
 Privy mark: star under antepenultimate letter.  
 Ordered 27 April 1430.

No output figures.  
 Extremely rare. *Plate I. 22*

9. Le Mans mint  
 Open 1425–32. Mint mark: root.

First issue. Pellet stops on obv., star stops rev.  
 No privy mark.  
 Ordered 26 October 1425.  
 No output figures.  
 Very rare. *Plate I. 13*

Second issue. Pellet stop under the star which follows Regnat on reverse.  
 Ordered 17 July 1432.  
 No output figures.  
 No specimen found, probably never struck.

10. Dijon mint  
 Open 1423–6. Mint-mark: vernicle.

First issue. Ordered 6 March 1425.  
 600 struck.  
 No specimen of this issue is known.

Second issue. Saltire stops on obv., saltires or stars and saltires on rev.  
 AVE downwards.  
 No privy mark.

	<p>Ordered 11 February 1429.  51,200 struck.  Rare. <i>Plate I. 23</i>  Variety with AVE upwards.  <i>Plate I. 24</i></p>	<p>33,200 struck.  Very rare. <i>Plate I. 25</i>  Fourth issue. Saltire stops on obv., stars on  rev.  AVE up or down.  Privy mark: star under REX and  XPC.  Ordered 26 June 1434.  66,600 struck.  Very rare. <i>Plate I. 26</i></p>
Third issue.	<p>Saltire stops on obv., crescents  over stars on rev.  AVE upwards.  No privy mark.  Ordered 16 June 1433.</p>	







# THE EXTANT ORMONDE PISTOLES AND DOUBLE PISTOLES OF 1646

W. A. SEABY AND G. BRADY

THE historical background to this somewhat remarkable issue of authorized but non-regal gold coins was dealt with during recent years both by Dr. William O'Sullivan<sup>1</sup> and by Mr. Michael Dolley.<sup>2</sup> Here it is the present writers' intention to sketch in the pedigrees of the examples known or thought to have survived so far as it is possible to trace them from their sources; and to put forward explanations for such anomalies as occur in the scant accounts available. At the end of the general discussion each coin is separately identified by the dies used in its striking, and illustrated by both faces on Pl. 2; this should prevent any equivocation in their future recognition. An attempt is also made to gauge the over-all extent of the output by various methods; and the paper concludes with a note on certain modern counterfeits of American origin, three examples, all apparently from the same dies, being shown on the plate.

Early in May 1839 James Carruthers, who lived at Glencregah, near Belfast, procured from the locality<sup>3</sup> a gold coin which he sketched at the head of a letter sent to Dean Dawson at Dublin<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 1). He notes that it has all the appearance of an Inchiquin coin

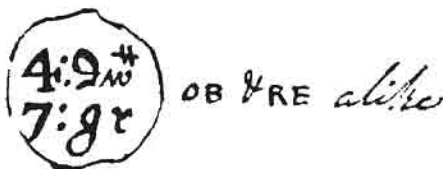


FIG. 1

and thinks that it may 'be unique since neither Simon or Lindsay mention gold having been struck by that person'.<sup>5</sup> The single-face illustration of this piece is unsatisfactory for determination of die identity because the figures, colons, and script letters are somewhat thicker than any examples known; and because there is no indication as to whether there was an even striking over the whole surface or the lettering was only partly struck up as in most of the specimens extant today. Furthermore, by showing only one face and stating 'OB and RE alike', Carruthers may well have used details from both sides to make up a single representation.

The most noticeable feature, for example, is the serif at the end of the cross bar of

<sup>1</sup> W. O'Sullivan, 'The Only Gold Coins issued in Ireland 1646', *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), pp. 141-50.

<sup>2</sup> M. Dolley, 'A note on the Weight and Fineness of the 1646 Ormonde "Pistole"', *BNJ* xxxv (1966), pp. 152-4.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 82 para. 2, for the exact wording used by Carruthers for this find.

<sup>4</sup> Amongst letters of Henry Richard Dawson, Dean of St. Patrick's, housed at the Royal Irish Academy

and shortly to be published. We are indebted to Mr. Michael Dolley for first calling our attention to this most important document.

<sup>5</sup> Carruthers had in mind the issue of 1642 by the Lord Justices, but at the date of Carruthers's letter, and until comparatively recently, the silver coinage stamped with weights only was invariably called 'Inchiquin Money'. See W. O'Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

the 4 which is strongly marked; and if a figure of this form was depicted on his coin, it is only the second time this particular idiosyncrasy has been noted. This is not to suggest that a serif in this position, and not also on the foot of the 4, gives an impression of falsity, because on the numerous dated coins of Charles I, struck in the English Royalist strongholds, various forms of 4 are to be seen: without serifs, with serif on the end of the cross bar, with serifs in both positions, and with curled end to the foot. On the other hand, the very large and decisive serif on Carruthers's coin may be of special significance, because we know from the Carte manuscripts that there were two gold issues, the first by a warrant dated 29 July 1646 the coins to have a gold standard of only 19 carats, and the second of 1 February 1646/7 stating the coins are to be of 'an alloy betwixt 20 and 22 carotts'.<sup>1</sup> On close examination of the Chapman/Murdoch pistole, now in the American Numismatic Society's collection in New York, it is noted that that coin was struck from rusty dies Nos. 1 and 3 (see below under P. 2 and P. 3(b)) which had been altered to the extent of having a serif added to the cross bar of each 4, so the conclusion here surely must be that it belongs to the second issue.<sup>2</sup>

It seems most improbable that the authenticity of the gold coin possessed by Carruthers can be in question. When Carruthers wrote to Dawson, John Lindsay's book on the Irish Coinage had just been published and there is no hint in it that the Cork numismatist had any knowledge whatever of these so-called 'Inchiquin' pistoles. Simon certainly found no reference to them when he was going through the documents in the Birmingham Tower at Dublin, and no numismatist of later date seems to have taken note of the relevant Ormonde Papers, deposited by Thomas Carte during the years 1753-4 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, until Dr. William O'Sullivan came across the published reference thirteen years ago.<sup>3</sup> In other words, James Carruthers had made an entirely independent numismatic discovery; and only one other source for an early counterfeiter seems possible—the Bridgewater House cabinet belonging to the Earl of Ellesmere which contained two double pistoles and two single pistoles in all probability acquired in the seventeenth century. Since, however, this old collection had been made much less available to those carrying out numismatic studies than, for example, that of the Earl of Pembroke<sup>4</sup> it is most unlikely that a forger would or could have obtained a cast from one of the Bridgewater House coins; and even less likely, if he did so, that he should have used a serified figure where none existed on either face of the two Bridgewater specimens. And if a pistole had been forged why not a double pistole?

This being the case it is indeed ironical that at the auction sale of coins belonging to James Carruthers, held at Sotheby's on 26 and 27 January 1857, lot 55 should be described in the printed catalogue as 'Inchiquin, Gold, stamped 4 dwt. 7 grs *false*' and that the successful bidder, Eastwood the dealer, should have purchased it for a mere 13 shillings, which was then barely the value of the gold content. The lot was evidently associated in the cataloguer's mind with the previous lot, lot 54 'Inchiquin, stamped 3 dwt 21 gr; 1 dwt 22 gr; and 1 dwt 6 gr, *all false*'; again these were purchased by Eastwood, at 15 shillings.

<sup>1</sup> O'Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 142, quoting from transcription of the Carte MSS., edited by Russell and Prendergast and published by H.M.S.O. in 1871.

<sup>2</sup> We are indebted to the American Numismatic Society and to Mr. Patrick Finn for the photograph used to illustrate this paper.

<sup>3</sup> O'Sullivan, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> This collection was referred to as early as 1726 by S. M. Leake in *Nummi Britannici Historia*, p. 15, and plates of coins from the collection were published 1746; the sale of the Pembroke collection took place at Sotheby's on 31 July 1848.

Counterfeit 'Inchiquin' silver coins date back to the early nineteenth century, probably even earlier than this, and attention was drawn to them by Aquilla Smith writing only three years later than the Carruthers sale.<sup>1</sup> He says:

These forgeries were executed previous to the publication of the first edition of Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage* in 1817 in which there is an engraving of the nine-pence, Plate XXVII Fig. 4. The same coin was previously published in *Folkes Table of English Coins*, but as the work is not often met with in Ireland, it is probable that the person who caused the forgeries to be made was not aware of the existence of the nine-pence.

Elsewhere in the same paper Smith writes:

Forgeries of the crown, halfcrown, shilling, sixpence, and fourpence, were manufactured some years ago by a silversmith in Dublin under the direction of an obscure collector, who usually disposed of his rare coins in England. When the remnant of his collection was sold by auction after his death, I purchased a complete set of these forgeries, and at the same time, a few small blank pieces of silver cut into polygonal form and filed preparatory to stamping them. They are all black, and were exposed to the fumes of burning sulphur, for the purpose of giving them an antique appearance.

But to revert to the gold pistoles. Perhaps the most significant statements in the whole complex story were those of James Carruthers himself in 1853.<sup>2</sup> Under the date 1840 he wrote: 'About this time was found, near Belfast, a gold coin, marked on both sides 4 dwt. 7 grs., supposed to have been struck by Lord Inchiquin, in the reign of Charles I, and to represent in value a French Pistole. This unique specimen is in my collection.' The entry immediately following reads: '1850—About this time five similar coins were discovered; two of which are in the British Museum, two in the cabinet of Sir Montague Chapman, Bart., and the other in the possession of Dr. Aquilla Smith of Dublin.'

Rather than accept this statement at face value it is sensible to analyse these entries to see whether each can be substantiated. In the first case the conclusion from his letter to Dawson is that Carruthers had acquired a pistole late in April or at the beginning of May 1839,<sup>3</sup> and it seems reasonable to treat this as the true date for the memorized '1840', for this is by no means the only error in dating in his considerable list of finds, partly published in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* and partly in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*.<sup>4</sup> That it was an authentic piece seems certain both from the evidence outlined above and from its acceptance by Aquilla Smith, who wrote some three years after the Carruthers sale:

The fact of coinage of gold having been issued in Ireland has not been noticed by any writer on Irish coins, and has only been established within the last few years by the discovery of two or three pieces. These coins are stamped on each side, 4 dwts. 7 grs., within a double circle, which extends to the margin; the inner circle is linear, the outer beaded; the figures and letters are not arranged like those on the silver coins. Fig. 10, Plate II, weighs 4 dwts. 6 grs. Another of the same type, but struck from different dies, was in the cabinet of Mr. Carruthers of Belfast; its weight is 4 dwts 5 grs; the double 'tt' over the letters 'dw' and the letter 'g' bear a striking resemblance to the letters on the crown, Fig. 3 Plate 1.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Smith, *J. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Ireland*, vi (Kilkenney, 1860-1), pp. 16 and 13. The Ulster Museum possesses four of these forgeries, from the Carlyon-Britton collection.

<sup>2</sup> J. Carruthers, *Ulster J. Archaeology*, i (1853), p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 80 n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> J. Carruthers, op. cit., and *JRSAI* iii (1854-5), pp. 61-4.

<sup>5</sup> A. Smith, op. cit., p. 16. It is perhaps unfortunate that Smith did not acknowledge the prior claim of Carruthers in mentioning the 'Inchiquin gold' in print, and to liken it to the French pistole; but it is possible that Smith had not actually seen a copy of the appropriate list of finds in the *Ulster J. Archaeology*.

The important points in the Smith statement are: (1) that a genuine coin was in Carruthers's cabinet; (2) that it was a grain lower in weight than Smith's; and (3), most important of all, that it was struck from different dies, a fact which would seem to be borne out by Carruthers's sketch, even if it so happened that these dies were altered versions of Nos. 1 and 3 (cf. Fig. 1 and Pl. 2 no. P. 2). It appears, therefore that a most unfortunate mistake was made on the part of the cataloguer regarding the authenticity of Carruthers's specimen, and we can now only assume that this quite genuine piece was later committed to the crucible, in view of its non-reappearance since 1857.<sup>1</sup>

The second entry by Carruthers needs considerably more probing. The date 1850 is only three years before he was writing, and it should be pointed out that more coin finds seem to have come to light in Ireland during the ten years from 1840 to 1850 than in any other similar period during the last 250 years. Nevertheless we must ask ourselves if it is within the bounds of coincidence that such a rare and outstanding coin, completely unknown to students and collectors since Simon published his pioneer treatise on the Irish coinage in 1749, should suddenly make its appearance twice in little more than one decade to the tune of *six* specimens? While not impossible it does seem unlikely, especially since Carruthers was the first to mention each find. Note, for instance, that Carruthers gives no locality for this second discovery. Is he, in fact, implying merely that *he has located* five further specimens since he acquired his own piece from near Belfast in, or about, 1840?

That probability gives a new proportion and meaning to our inquiry. The two coins in the British Museum might surely have been those in the Ellesmere collection which we know was deposited there at this time, the cabinet having been accepted for safe-keeping during the rebuilding of Bridgewater House.<sup>2</sup> Had the Keeper of the Coins and Medals Department been asked by letter whether he knew of such coins he could have honestly replied that two were 'housed' at the Museum without giving away the secret of ownership; and since double pistoles were not then in question he was under no obligation to disclose their presence as well. A recent thorough search of the Museum's own cabinets, even including those holding coin weights and counterfeit coins, has failed to reveal any other pistoles that form part of the permanent collection.<sup>3</sup>

The other *three* pistoles, which Carruthers claimed were extant in 1850, are also difficult to accept as part of a single find made at that date. Aquilla Smith is said to have had one of them and of this there can be no doubt since he fully described it ten years later, complete with a drawing, so carefully engraved that not only can it be claimed as the specimen acquired by the Royal Irish Academy on his death in 1890 and listed by Coffey,<sup>4</sup> but it is still readily identifiable amongst the specimens now housed in the coin trays in the National Museum of Ireland at Dublin.<sup>5</sup> So far

<sup>1</sup> There is, of course, always a slender hope that Eastwood sold it as a curiosity with the false 'Inchiquin silver' so that it may yet turn up in a museum or dealer's stock.

<sup>2</sup> Foreword in Sotheby's Sale catalogue, 15 and 16 June 1972.

<sup>3</sup> We are indebted to Mr. Michael Dolley for this information, and to the staff of the museum for making a further search. We may perhaps preclude the possibility that after the Carruthers sale two perfectly genuine pistoles in the British Museum trays were

removed and destroyed! Then, as now, it was the practice not to destroy pieces after condemnation but to place them aside in a special cabinet; but they have not shown up here either.

<sup>4</sup> G. Coffey, *Guide etc. to the Anglo-Irish coins in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy* (1895), p. 91, under 'Money of Necessity 1642', and quoting Dr. A. Smith's paper of 1860.

<sup>5</sup> The outline and details of Smith's drawing may be compared with P. 3 on Pl. 2 if further proof is required.



so good. But the two examples in Sir Montague Chapman's cabinet take rather more explanation.

One of these can be identified with reasonable certainty. It appeared as lot 65 in the sale of the collection of the late Sir Benjamin Chapman, Bart.,<sup>1</sup> which took place at Sotheby's on 8 November 1894, and was sold to Spink for £51, a very high price at that date; but in this case the catalogue carried Dr. Smith's testimony as to the authenticity.<sup>2</sup> The coin was sold to J. G. Murdoch and it appeared in the fourth portion of his auction sale held at Sotheby's on 12 December 1904, lot 38, the coin being illustrated on Plate I.<sup>3</sup> The catalogue claimed that it was from the Chapman collection and it was purchased again by Spink but for £47. 5s. The coin was advertised twice in the *Circular*<sup>4</sup> before being bought by Virgil T. Brand of Chicago. Subsequently it was purchased by Mrs. E. M. Norweb of Cleveland, Ohio, by whom it was presented to the American Numismatic Society, New York, where it is now (Pl. 2, P. 2).

But this is the only coin which has come down to us from the original Chapman cabinet. What may have happened to the other? Did it exist? In his two entries Carruthers listed six coins but he may have over-calculated. Smith writing seven years later mentioned non-committally 'the discovery of two or three pieces'. In other words he acknowledged his own coin and that of Carruthers, and a third which must surely have been that in the possession, not of Sir Montague Lowther Chapman, 3rd Bart., the coin collector, who had in fact died in May 1852, but of his brother, Sir Benjamin James Chapman, 4th Bart., the new owner of Killua Castle, Clonmellon, Co. Westmeath. It is even possible that Aquilla Smith acquired his specimen by way of exchange or purchase from the Chapman cabinet shortly before or after the death of Sir Montague, whom as a fellow collector he must surely have known.<sup>5</sup> If so everything, except the origin of these coins, fits neatly into place, for Carruthers in 1853 might be excused for thinking that the Chapman cabinet still contained two specimens if Smith gave him no indication of how he had acquired his coin. Unfortunately this is only surmise, and since the Aquilla Smith coin is a much better specimen than that which came from the Chapman cabinet, and furthermore is of the earlier stage of dies 1 and 3, we may never know for certain, unless correspondence or memoranda amongst Dr. Smith's papers come to light. Incidentally Smith seems to have had no knowledge of the Bridgewater specimens.

In 1839 Montague Chapman was about thirty-one and had only succeeded to the title two years earlier. No mention of him appears in the acknowledgements to a considerable list of collectors in Lindsay's book on Irish coins so that at the date of the original discovery 'near Belfast' the chances of Chapman some eighty miles away in Westmeath hearing of this find might seem remote, even if at that period he had seriously started collecting. Hoards containing gold coins found in Ireland are rare enough by any standard, and while initial discoveries were perhaps more likely to have been kept secret

<sup>1</sup> Younger brother of Sir Montague Chapman.

<sup>2</sup> 'Dr. A. Smith remarks that the fact of a coinage of gold having been issued in Ireland has only been established within the last few years by the discovery of two or three of these pieces.' Probably this information was taken from Lt.-Col. Stewart Thorburn, *The Coins of Great Britain* (2nd edn., 1888); the sale record is given in Thorburn's fourth edition (1905), p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Also illustrated and described by Philip Nelson, *BNJ* ii (1905), pp. 333-4.

<sup>4</sup> *SNC*, no. 168 (Nov. 1906), column 9482, no. 32802 at £53. 10s., and no. 218 (Jan. 1911), column 12536, no. 82329 at £60.

<sup>5</sup> J. Lindsay, *Coinage of Scotland* (1845), p. viii, acknowledges help from many contemporary collectors, including Sir Montague Chapman, Bart., as also did Richard Sainthill in *Olla Podrida*, ii (1853), p. ix. In other words the older baronet was well known to the numismatic fraternity by the mid century.

from police and other authorities liable to apply the law of treasure trove, nevertheless the very fact of numismatists or antiquarians publishing lists of finds from time to time would surely highlight any such unusual records. Some nine Irish hoards containing gold coins from the Stuart dynasty (1603–1714) are recorded by Michael Dolley as against a dozen from the same period in Scotland and about fifty from England and Wales as listed by Professor Brown;<sup>1</sup> and out of Dolley's entries five hoards are thought to have been deposited before the Restoration. One hoard is clearly earlier than the issues of 1646; another is believed to have included only Spanish gold, possibly from Armada sources; the contents of a third are known; and the other two discoveries are those containing pistoles, here under consideration. That from near Portarlinton is discussed below, but entry IP 29 in the bibliography reads 'Belfast, nr. Antrim/Down J/37 ? 1850 5? Irish (quoting the Carruthers reference)—to be taken with reservations'.

Mr. Dolley was obviously not happy about the Carruthers 'hoard' of 1850 and has told the writers that he would be equally willing to associate the Smith and Chapman specimens, but not the four coins from the Bridgewater House collection, with the find 'near Belfast' in May 1839. The recovery of Carruthers's coin at that date seems incontrovertible; but the finding of other pieces on that occasion, which somehow got distributed to one or two more collectors without the exact circumstances of the find being disclosed, must for the present and perhaps for ever remain a possibility only.

The remainder of the authentic pistoles and double pistoles have better documented origins. It is true that no provenance can be given to the four pieces from the Bridgewater House cabinet, but their presumed age as numismatic specimens places them in a category which requires no further credentials. Out of 615 lots in the Sotheby auction on 15/16 June 1972, some 547 items or groups of coins were dated before 1700 and only 64 lots were from the early eighteenth century up to the year 1740. The remaining four lots, a gold George III coronation medal and three proof Soho coins, all items that a peer might be likely to have received as gifts, testify that the collection had been formed earlier, presumably by one or more of the Earls of Bridgewater between c. 1640 and 1740. The two pistoles and two double pistoles in uncirculated condition might even have been presented to John Egerton, second Earl (1622–86), by James Butler, Earl (later Duke) of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from January 1643 to July 1647. Be that as it may, the majority of the seventeenth-century coins in the collection were most likely to have been taken out of circulation by the enthusiastic nobleman-collector who had the pick of a whole range of late hammered and early milled gold and silver pieces from Britain and Ireland.

The other six specimens, deriving with almost 100 more coins from a rabbit warren in the sandy esker at Derryville, near Portarlinton, Co. Laois, three found on or about 22 March 1946, and three more on 26 February 1948, as recorded by Dr. O'Sullivan,<sup>2</sup> are of uncontestable origin. The fact that these coins were in the hands of children and others in that district for several months before the police were notified opens up the slight possibility that one or more pistoles may still be in private possession or have been sold to a collector or dealer unknown to the authorities in the Republic. Yet a

<sup>1</sup> I. D. Brown and M. Dolley, *A Bibliography of Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland 1500–1967* (1971), pp. 24–37, 47–52, 74–80. Modern recoveries from shipwrecks are not included in these calculations

but Armada and other later coastal wrecks may have contributed to a number of the inland deposits containing gold coins.

<sup>2</sup> O'Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

proportion of only one pistole in sixteen or seventeen other gold pieces recovered would seem to militate against the suggestion that more may have been so found.

Here we may summarize the die-identities from the ten pistoles and two double pistoles extant, Carruthers's coin being excluded in the absence of photographic representation; the appropriate figures are as follows:

I. <i>Double Pistoles</i>	(a) Frequency:	Die (d.p.) 1—2 striking
		Die (d.p.) 2—2 striking
II. <i>Pistoles</i>	(b) Combinations:	Dies (d.p.) 1 and 2—2 coins
	(a) Frequency:	Die (p.) 1—9 striking, including 1 striking from re-cut die.
		Die (p.) 2—5 striking
		Die (p.) 3—3 striking, including 1 striking from re-cut die.
		Die (p.) 4—1 striking
		Die (p.) 5—2 striking
	(b) Combinations:	Dies (p.) 1 and 2—5 coins
		Dies (p.) 1 and 3—3 coins, including 1 striking from re-cut dies.
		Dies (p.) 1 and 5—1 coin
		Dies (p.) 4 and 5—1 coin

Pistole weights vary from 97.5 grains to 102.8 grains and give an average of 101.2 grains, or a nominal loss of 1.8 grains per coin at a standard of 103 grains.

From these details it will be seen that the grouping is very tight, the coins being heavily interlinked and showing that the issue must have been relatively small. Can we get any idea of the output? The warrants give us virtually no clues except that the pledges were for the relief of the distressed soldiers and 'having in our custody some bullion of gould being of diverse uncertaine values'. And in the second warrant the issue was to ensure that 'the inhabitants of the city of Dublin and the guarrisons neere adjacent' having been forced 'to dispose of their gold rings, chains and broken gold', etc., 'may have some small pledges made thereof'. It was also laid down in the first warrant that the two goldsmiths concerned in the making of the coins were to receive (between them) one shilling in every twenty shillings worth of bullion wrought; they also had power to call in any other workmen goldsmiths for expedition of the minting.

Whatever the warrants may have implied regarding relief to the inhabitants of Dublin, whether they came under civil or military jurisdiction, it was to keep the 'royalist' troops from mutinying or at least from changing sides that Ormonde needed the 'pledges' so badly. Such silver plate as had been available during the earlier years of the war was in the form of stamped and struck silver coins issued by the Lord Justices and Council, the so-called 'Inchiquin', 'Dublin', and 'Ormonde' money;<sup>1</sup> and all the sources for this kind of bullion had long been exhausted. Now it was the turn of what little gold as had been collected or confiscated to be thrown into the melting-pot. Financial support might be forthcoming for the Confederate Catholic cause through the papal nuncio, Cardinal Rinuccini; the forces of Owen Roe O'Neill, victorious after their defeat of Monro's evicted Scottish and Anglo-Irish planters at Benburb, might live off the countryside in traditional fashion; but the Lord Lieutenant, desperate to conclude at Kilkenny the peace terms laid down by Charles I to his loyal Catholic subjects,<sup>2</sup> had still to maintain his position in the capital.

<sup>1</sup> O'Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 141; P. J. Seaby, *Coins and Tokens of Ireland* (1970), pp. 62, 64, 65.

<sup>2</sup> As it happened the king had renounced his pledge but Ormonde had not received the letter. See p. 87 n. 1.

Indeed the soldiers in Dublin and at the other garrison towns of the Pale were more than likely to throw in their support for the English Parliament if succour was not forthcoming. In England the beleaguered king had his own financial problems and there was little or nothing that could be spared for Ireland, only promises of land settlement after the war was over. Non-combatants might starve, but the soldiers fought only on their stomachs. So it was, when such money and supplies as Ormonde had been receiving from the wealthy landowners of the Pale and from Queen Henrietta Maria—then living in France on a pension of 12,000 crowns a month from her sister-in-law, the queen regent—had been exhausted, that the gold pledges, unofficial as they were, proved to be almost the last stake in Ormonde's game. Eventually, of course, his cause was lost; and the Parliamentary commissioners took over the city during April 1647.<sup>1</sup>

From the Ormonde papers housed in the National Library in Dublin we know the total weekly budget of the garrison in April 1646 was £263. 9s., that the 2,594 soldiers, paid at 12d. each per week, absorbed £129. 14s. and that the pay of officers, N.C.O.s, and other expenses amounted to £133. 15s.<sup>2</sup> The sum in French pistoles, having a nominal value of 13s. 4d., could have been equivalent to something in excess of 5,000 gold coins quarterly. If, indeed, the issue of August 1646 was to last for a period of six months, then at least 10,000 Irish pistoles would be needed, a sum which certainly seems to have been sent over by Henrietta Maria probably at the behest of the king during the summer of 1646. But Dublin was not the only garrison to be paid out of these moneys. Soldiers holding out in other Protestant loyalist strongholds ('other guarrisons neere adjacent') must be supported, and their numbers in aggregate might well have exceeded those employed in the Dublin defence.

A very remarkable account in the Ormonde MSS.,<sup>3</sup> would seem to underline the position as set out above. Because of its importance in relation to the present inquiry it is here transcribed in full.

[Page 289 (Recto):]

A note of the several sumes I delivered to Mr George Lane

		£	s.	d.
July 10th 1646	To Mr Lane for my L <sup>d</sup> Lieuten <sup>at</sup> w <sup>ch</sup> L <sup>d</sup> Digby formerly borrowed of his Ex <sup>co</sup>	230	00	00
July 31	To Mr Lane for paying of out Garrisons			
Aug 1	To Mr Lane for the paying of the Garrison of Dublin	500	00	00
		120	00	00
	Sume	850	00	00

The overall sumes delivered to the sayd Mr Lane as the [sic] came from the mint for w<sup>ch</sup> I received his acquittances

		£	s.	d.
Aug 1	Delivered to Mr Lane	500	00	00
Aug 1	More the said 1st of August	120	00	00
Aug 8	Delivered to Mr Lane	300	00	00

<sup>1</sup> Historic background and argument have been based on Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, ii (reprinted by Holland Press, 1963), chapters xxviii and xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. 14, Letters and Papers from

28 March 1646 to 25 March 1646/7, pp. 39–40 and 47–8. The Parliamentary garrison at Hull received about £305 per week, *Acts and Ordnances of the Interregnum 1642–1660*, i, p. 858.

<sup>3</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. 14, pp. 289 and 292.

Aug 15	Delivered to Mr Lane	600-00-00
Aug 20	Delivered to Mr Lane	075-00-00
Aug 22	Delivered to Mr Lane	027-00-00
		<hr/>
		1622-00-00
		850-00-00
		<hr/>
In witness that this is a true copy of my accmpt I have hereunto sett my hand ffrans Slingsby.		The total sume 2472-00-00

[Page 292 (*Verso*):]

Mr Slingsbys note of what money I received from him of the 10,000 pystoles sent by the Queene for the Kings service in Ireland

22 August 1646

From this document we certainly learn a good deal, but by no means all the answers are to be found here. For example, money for the 'out Garrisons' far exceeds that for Dublin—over four times as much—and even £120 for the latter is slightly less than had been reckoned for the soldiers alone in April, unless pay to the commissioned officers and N.C.O.s, etc., was not carried out through Mr. Lane but was subject to a separate pay roll. It could, of course, be that the size of the Dublin garrison had very greatly decreased between April and August and that the 'out-garrisons' had *per contra* increased; but unless evidence is forthcoming this must be merely surmise. Further, if the payment for the garrisons amounting to £620 was paid out twice, on 31 July/1 August and again on 1 August (although the second entry does not specifically state what the money was for), are we merely dealing with a fortnight's back pay overdue or with arrears of pay and other army debts accrued over a much longer period? For example the £230, which was repayment of a loan to Ormonde on 10 July, looks surprisingly as if 'His Excellency' had kept the garrison going for a short while entirely out of his own private resources. Indeed, if the Castle treasury had been completely drained of all forms of specie this must have determined the melting down of such gold bullion as was available for reissue in the form of 'pledges'—a final recourse for upholding the local defence forces.

But perhaps the most significant problem for us arises from the two conflicting statements, one to the effect that a large part of the £2,472 was delivered 'as *the* came from the mint' and, on the back, Lane's note of what money he received from Slingsby 'of the 10,000 pystoles sent by the Queen for the Kings Service in Ireland'. We know that the warrant to Vaneyndhoven and Tongues for the making of the pledges was dated 29 July 1646 (a Wednesday, as it happens) so it would appear that coins in considerable quantity were coming from 'the mint' two days later. If this 'mint' was centred in Dublin—and any other interpretation is surely nonsense since shipments of the new gold coin from the Paris mint cannot have been arriving in such comparatively small quantities weekly or even at shorter intervals—then the arrangements for issue of the pledges must have been well in hand before the warrant was signed and dated by Ormonde.

Now why did the clerk who drew up the account leave out a letter, or more probably a word, in his statement 'The overall sumes delivered to the sayd Mr. Lane as *the* came from the mint for W<sup>ch</sup> I received his acquittances'? Can this have been accidental or by



intent? The least we might have expected is *they* for the 'sumes' of money. But, after all, it is surely coins which come from a mint and was he really expected to write down 'pledges' or worse still 'pieces' in an official receipt! Perhaps discretion prevented his using 'pystoles' on this side of the document and for a very good reason. The Spanish 2-escudo piece at 104 grains and 21 carat  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grain fineness was officially known as a 'pistole'<sup>1</sup> and the Irish piece was a fraction lighter as well as having a considerably lower standard of gold, so the term might have met with official as well as unofficial objection, even though later these coins came to be equated with Spanish and indeed with French gold coins. The louis d'or and its double, first issued in 1640 under Louis XIII, weighing a nominal 103½ grains and 207 grains respectively, both struck at 22 carats fine, were in fact almost certainly the models for the Irish pledges.<sup>2</sup>

More intriguing is the surmise that much of Henrietta Maria's 10,000 pistoles also went into the melting-pot at Dublin, and this for two reasons. First, the money that the queen dispatched to Ireland was not likely to have been *all* in the new louis d'or of her brother's and young nephew's issues (1640–6) but probably made up to a large extent of a mass of old gold coin then coming to the various *ateliers* in France for restriking; and our suggestion is that she supplied Ormonde with mixed specie at a bullion weight of 10,000 pistoles. Such variable foreign coinage would have been virtually impossible to pay out to officers and men on any parity basis, so it, with the 'rings, chains and broken plate', may have been sent to the two goldsmiths for reissue as new pistoles at a standard of 19 carats and allowing any small amounts of silver with the consignment to be alloyed with the gold.

Second, that there were at least some of the new French gold coins in the bulk package and that these were distributed with the new Irish 'pistoles' to the garrisons, or traders, and others who may have provided for the troops, is suggested by the fact that in the Derryville hoard two louis d'or, one of Louis XIII (1640) and one of Louis XIV (1643)<sup>3</sup> came to light. But since the proportion is only two French to six Irish this may well be a measure of the amount of *current issue* sent over by the English queen. The other gold at Derryville is made up of English (75 pieces), Scottish (1), Spanish (14), and Savoy (1) together with a further five English pieces of silver. In other words, there were no French coins of the sixteenth century or earlier years of the seventeenth century in the deposit, which is remarkable when the fourteen pieces of Spanish coin are found to cover a period of at least eighty years.

But to revert to our original inquiry as to how much money might have been struck in the form of Irish pledges. If, say, the single pistole is reckoned at one mark (13s. 4d.) then from the account above it would appear that at least 2,433 pieces,<sup>4</sup> possibly more, were paid out to Mr. George Lane alone, as agent for military expenses. But this is most unlikely to be the whole issue nor does it necessarily include any strikings of double pistoles. Five dies are capable of striking over 20,000 coins on average,<sup>5</sup> although this

<sup>1</sup> The compact edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* under 'Pistole' gives '1643 Decl. Commons Irel. 49, Fourteene pieces of eight, and a double pistole'. We are indebted to Mrs. Joan Martin of the British Museum for this early reference. James Simon *Essay on Irish Coins* (2nd edn., 1810), pp. 50 and 55, gives the weight and value of French pistoles in 1660 and 1683 respectively. See also D. Westropp, 'Irish

Coin Weights', *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* xxxiii (1916), p. 47, where French pistoles are referred to.

<sup>2</sup> M. Dolley, *BNJ* xxxv (1966), pp. 152–4. For an up-to-date account of the French louis d'or see *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 254 (April 1973), pp. 96–101.

<sup>3</sup> Fully catalogued in the registers at the National Museum of Ireland. <sup>4</sup> The conversion of £1,622.

<sup>5</sup> 4,000 per die or 8,000 per pair of dies on average

figure might be considered an optimum one and something between 10,000 and 20,000 is more likely. If, say, 15,000 pistoles and 3,000 double pistoles were produced by the two goldsmiths in a space of three to four weeks then a sum of about £14,500 could have been the output. Everything points to the issue in February following being much smaller; and the probability is that not more than £20,000 in all was struck, or approximately 25,000 pieces from seven or at the most eight dies. The survival rate on this basis would be for the double pistoles, 1:1,500 and for the single pistoles, 1:2,000. Since survival rate of issues, where they can be tested, seem mostly to lie between 1:1,000 and 1:6,000, the figures suggested fall well within the bounds of probability.<sup>1</sup> The goldsmiths, at 6*d.* each per pounds-worth struck, would appear to have done very well, but out of a possible £250 each they had to provide all the equipment needed, make dies, hire assistants, and take full responsibility for the standard of fineness of the gold coins produced.

*Check list of authentic pistoles and double pistoles*

Pistoles (11): Plate 2.

- P. 1 Dies (?). *Obv.* With serif to cross stroke of 4. Colons between, but not shown after, figures and weights; the *r* with tail upcurled (being shown only as a sketch this might be a composite die with features taken from both sides). Found 1839 and acquired by James Carruthers; provenance and fate discussed *ante*, p. 80. (See Fig. 1.) Weight: 6.5445 grammes (101 grains).
- P. 2 Dies 1 (recut) and 3 (recut). *Obv.* (1). With serif to cross stroke of 4 but colons between figures and weights and also after the weights, but not readily apparent from the extant illustrations. *Rev.* (3). 4 and 7 not properly determined but there are probably colons after both figures; there are also colons after *dw<sup>tt</sup>* and *gr*, the latter being set high. In the possession of Sir Montague Chapman, Bart., in 1850; for provenance and present whereabouts see *ante*, p. 84. Weight: 6.5390 grammes (100.8 grains).
- P. 3 (a) Dies (?). Recorded as being in the collection of Sir Montague Chapman, Bart., with P. 2, by James Carruthers (1853), but not in the collection when sold in 1894. Possibly to be identified with P. 3 (b). Weight: not stated.
- P. 3 (b) Dies 1 and 3. *Obv.* (1). With two large spread pellets to colon after 4, neater colon after *w<sup>tt</sup>*, colon after 7 set high and making a line of four pellets with that after 4, colon after *gr* set high but just separated from that after *w*, upcurled end to *r*. *Rev.* (3). Colon after 4 closer set, one pellet at end of cross stroke, no colon after *w*, colon after 7 closer set to point of figure, no colon after *r*, the tail of which curves downwards. First mentioned as in the possession of Dr. Aquilla Smith by Carruthers (1853); for provenance and present whereabouts see *ante*, p. 82. Weight: 6.5975 grammes (101.9 grains).
- P. 4 (a) Dies uncertain. Included on the strength of Carruthers's remark of 1853 that 'two of which and [pistoles] are in the British Museum'. The evidential value of this is discussed *ante*, p. 83.
- P. 5 (a)
- P. 4 (b) Dies 1 and 2. *Obv.* (1). As P. 3. *Rev.* (2). In the colon after 4 the upper pellet appears smaller

is based on studies of the output of Henry VIII Anglo-Irish harp groats which fall into a range of between 3,000 and 5,000 pieces per die. In the mid thirteenth century the smaller penny dies were capable of producing 15,000 to 20,000 coins per trussel or 30,000 or 40,000 per pair of dies. See M. Mate, 'Coin Dies under Edward I & II', *NC* 1969, pp. 211 and 217-18.

<sup>1</sup> The survival rate of Henry III Anglo-Irish Dublin pennies (2,225 photographically recorded, which is believed to be at least 95 per cent of all those extant

against £43,239 issued between 1251 and 1254) works out at 1:4,400. The survival rate of Tower-minted Henry VIII harps and half-harps (approx. 400 photographically recorded, which is estimated to be about 75 per cent of all those extant against a minimum of £16,000 and maximum of £32,000 believed to have been issued between 1534 and 1541, and reckoned at a ratio of 1 half to 12 whole groats) works out at 1:2,000 to 1:4,000.

than the lower, the pellets after 7 close together and in the same positions as those of die 3. The colons after *w* and *r* (with upcurled tail) are both set high, the latter noticeably so. This coin, with its companions P. 5 (*b*) and DP. 1 and 2, may have been taken out of circulation in the seventeenth century in the time of John, second Earl of Bridgewater (1622–86), and have passed from him to John, third Earl (1646–1701), and to Scroop, fourth Earl and first Duke of Bridgewater (1681–1745); it then passed with the Bridgewater collection to the first Earl of Ellesmere (1800–57), who placed it in the British Museum while Bridgewater House was being rebuilt in the late 1840s. The collection remained in an iron strong-box, known to certain of the museum staff but to almost no other numismatist, until about 1900, when it was returned to Francis Charles Granville, third Earl of Ellesmere, who had succeeded to the title in 1862 and who died in 1914. See p. 85 above and also entry DP. 1. Bridgewater House sale catalogue (1972), lot 551, illustrated; purchased by Spink £9,500; *SNC* 1972. Weight: 6.6615 grammes (102.8 grains).

- P. 5 (*b*) Dies 1 and 5. *Obv.* (1). As P. 3. *Rev.* Large 4 apparently without colon or very weakly struck, but colon after *w* in normal position; rather large 7 with normal small colon; flaw between *g* and *r* (which is without much curve to tail), small colon. Provenance and history as last. Bridgewater House sale catalogue (1972), lot 550, illustrated; purchased by Spink £9,000, on behalf of a private collector. Purchased by Ulster Museum in 1975. Weight: 6.5900 grammes (101.7 grains).
- P. 6 Dies 1 and 2. *Obv.* (1). As P. 3. *Rev.* (2). As P. 4. From the Derryville hoard. This pistole, with P. 7 and P. 8, were part of the first group of coins to be found, recovered by the police from the finders and others who had had them in their possession for some months after the discovery (for which see the *Sunday Independent* (Dublin, 30 November 1947) and *SCMB* 1948, p. 62; also Blunt (1952–4), I. D. Brown (1955–7), and W. A. Seaby (1958–9)). From information received from Dr. W. O'Sullivan (11 March 1960), the hoard was composed of four separate finds, made on 22 March 1946, 25 February 1948, 26 February 1948, and 13 March 1948, the earliest by children as mentioned above. The latest coins of those recovered were a Commonwealth unite with i.m. sun, and two double crowns with the same initial-mark. These coins were first issued in 1649 and it seems possible that the deposit was made in the initial stages of the Cromwellian campaigning. The pistole, together with its 5 fellows, 75 English gold, 5 English silver (c. 1558–1649), 1 Scottish gold rider of James VI (1594), 2 French, 1 Savoy, 14 Spanish, all gold (c. 1550–1644), were proved treasure trove and deposited in the National Museum at Dublin. See W. O'Sullivan (1964), last paragraph; Brown and Dolley (1971), *Bibliography* IQ5. Weight: 6.4950 grammes (100.2 grains).
- P. 7 Dies 1 and 2. *Obv.* (1). As P. 3. *Rev.* (2). As P. 4. From the Derryville hoard. Same history as P. 6. Weight: 6.3175 grammes (97.5 grains).
- P. 8 Dies 1 and 3. *Obv.* (1). As P. 3. *Rev.* (2). As P. 3. From the Derryville hoard. Same history as P. 6. Weight: 6.6650 grammes (102.8 grains).
- P. 9 Dies 1 and 2. *Obv.* (1). As P. 3. *Rev.* (2). As P. 4. Also from the Derryville hoard; found with P. 10 and P. 11 by army experts using magnetic instruments on the Derryville esker site, with other gold coins, on or about 26 February 1948. Otherwise same history as P. 6. See O'Sullivan (1964), last paragraph. Weight: 6.6250 grammes (102.2 grains).
- P. 10 Dies 1 and 2. *Obv.* (1). As P. 3. *Rev.* (2). As P. 4. From the Derryville hoard; found with P. 9 and P. 11. Same history as P. 9. Weight: 6.5425 grammes (100.9 grains).
- P. 11 Dies 4 and 5. *Obv.* (4). Colon after 4 probably present but not apparent on the face of this particular coin, colon after *w* on the linear circle, colon after 7 set well back, *r* with upcurled tail and the colon relatively close to letter and well set back from the linear circle. *Rev.* (5). As P. 5. From the Derryville hoard; found with P. 9 and P. 10. Same history as P. 9. Weight: 6.6075 grammes (102 grains).

Double pistoles (2): Plate 2.

- DP. 1 Dies 1 and 2. *Obv.* (1). Well-formed 8 with colon; a flaw, like a pellet, at base of loop in *d*, colon after *w* set high but vertical; normal 14, traces of colon, but *gr* and colon not struck up

on this coin or on DP. 2 to give details. *Rev.* (2). Figure 8 shows flaws which mostly fill lower loop, *dw* and part of it obscured by not being struck up on this or on DP. 2, but colon of small pellets in normal position; colon after 14 and *gr* in normal positions. Same history as P. 4 (b). Bridgewater House sale catalogue (1972), lot 548 (but illustrated as 549); purchased by Spink £13,500, on behalf of the National Museum of Ireland. Weight: 13.2575 grammes (204.6 grains).

- DP. 2 Dies 1 and 2. *Obv.* (1). As DP. 1. *Rev.* (2). As DP. 2. Same history as DP. 1 and P. 4 (b). Bridgewater House sale catalogue (1972), lot 549 (but illustrated as 548); purchased by Spink £13,000, on behalf of the British Museum. Weight: 13.3280 grammes (205.6 grains).

Note: Specimens P. 3 (b), P. 4 (b) and DP. 1 were lent to the exhibition 'Irish Coinage through the Ages' held at the Ulster Museum, Belfast, April–June 1969.

#### APPENDIX A

Bibliography to the authentic coins in chronological sequence (footnote and page references where given are to the present paper; items not referred to in it are of no independent significance but are included here for the sake of completeness).

1. Holograph letter from Carruthers to Dawson, 1839 (p. 80 n. 4, also p. 82).
2. J. Carruthers, *UJA* i (1853), p. 164 (p. 82 n. 2 and p. 85).
3. Carruthers Sale Catalogue, 1857 (see p. 81).
4. Aquilla Smith in *JRSAI* (1860), pp. 16 and 143–4 (p. 82 n. 1 and n. 5, etc.).  
(Note here a gap of some 34 years, but see under Stewart and Thorburn.)
5. Chapman sale catalogue, 1894 (see p. 84).
6. G. Coffey, *Guide to Coins in R.I.A.*, etc. (1895), p. 91, also 2nd edn. (1911), p. 79 (p. 83 n. 4).
7. H. A. Grueber, *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum* (1899), p. 235, but no illustration is shown in the plates.
8. Murdoch Sale Catalogue, 1904 (see p. 84).
9. Stewart and Thorburn, *The Coins of Great Britain and Ireland* (4th edn. revised by Grueber, 1905), p. 215 and pl. xxxv, no. 306 (see p. 84 n. 2 with regard to earlier editions which mention the pistole).
10. P. Nelson, 'The Obsidional Money of the Great Rebellion', *BNJ* ii (1905), pp. 333–4. This includes the earliest printed numismatic reference to the double pistoles which the authors have so far traced (p. 84 n. 3).
11. *Spink's Num. Circ.* (Nov. 1906), col. 9482 and (Jan. 1911), col. 12536 (see p. 84 n. 4).  
(Note here a gap of some 36 years.)
12. A. Frey, *Dictionary of Numismatic Names* (U.S.A., 1947), p. 112.
13. *Sunday Independent*, Dublin (30 Nov. 1947) (see p. 91).
14. *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, no. 357 (Feb. 1948), p. 62 (see p. 91).
15. C. E. Blunt, *BNJ* xxvii (1952–4), p. 215 (see p. 91).
16. I. D. Brown, *BNJ* xxviii (1955–7), p. 601 (see p. 91).
17. W. A. Seaby, 'Two Coin Hoards of the Rebellion Period, 1641–9, from Ulster', *BNJ* xxix (1958–9), p. 411, entry 22, where a summary of the Portarlington hoard is given (see p. 91).
18. R. A. G. Carson, *Coins, Ancient Medieval and Modern* (1962), p. 265.
19. A. E. J. Went, 'The Coinage of Ireland', *Ireland of the Welcomes*, xii, no. 4 (Nov.–Dec. 1963), p. 23.
20. W. O'Sullivan, *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), pp. 141–50 (p. 80 n. 1, pp. 81 and 85). (This writer lists most of the standard works on Irish coins to 1947 which cover the period of Charles I, and he comments on those authorities making no mention of the Irish pistole; but he failed to note that Carruthers in 1853 had used the word 'pistole' and similarly that Dr. Smith in 1860, on pp. 143–4 of *JRSAI* (Kilkenny), vi, formally designated his gold piece 'a pistole'.)

21. R. Friedberg, *Gold Coins of the World* (2nd edn., New York, 1965), p. 247; (3rd edn., 1971), p. 251.
22. M. Dolley, *BNJ* xxxv (1966), pp. 152-4 (p. 80 n. 2 and p. 89 n. 2).
23. A. Dowle and P. Finn, *Guide Book to the Coinage of Ireland* (1969), p. 56. The coin there illustrated, no. 269, is P. 3 (b). Their no. 270, based on a misconception in 10. P. Nelson, is non-existent.
24. P. J. Seaby, *Coins and Tokens of Ireland* (1970), p. 66. The illustrations are Bridgewater House coins, P. 4 (b) and D.P. 1 (see pp. 86 n. 1, pp. 90 and 91). Note too *Seaby's Standard Catalogue of Coins of Great Britain and Ireland* (10th edn., 1960), p. 94, no. 3527. This work, like earlier editions, makes mention of the pistole only.
25. I. D. Brown and M. Dolley, *Coin Hoards 1500-1967* (1971), pp. 77-8 (p. 85 n. 1 and p. 91). By implication.
26. Bridgewater House Sale Catalogue, 1972 (see pp. 85, 90-2). The foreword to the catalogue gives some valuable notes on the history of the collection.
27. *Irish Times* (17 June 1972), under 'Record price for Irish Coin'.
28. *Irish Numismatics* (July-Aug. 1972), p. 178.
29. *The Times* (9 Aug. 1972), under 'Record prices paid for coins'.
30. *Spinks Num. Circ.* (Dec. 1972), p. 471 (see p. 91).

## APPENDIX B

### THE AMERICAN COUNTERFEIT PISTOLES

It remains to discuss a group of false gold coins which first came to our notice in September 1971 when Mr. Peter Mitchell, of Messrs. Baldwin & Sons Ltd., showed to one of us (W. A. S.) polaroid photographs of two examples which had been sent to him from America and which he thought were counterfeits, but on which he sought a second opinion. It was at once noticeable that both coins were from the same pair of dies, and were made out of what appeared to be hammered plate. This in itself was suspicious, for the warrant of 1646 had laid down that the metal be of a specific alloy, which would have meant that all gold used for the manufacture of the coins ought to have passed through the crucible, unlike the stamped cut silver plate of the earlier issues by the Lord Justices in 1642 (the so-called Inchiquin money). One of these pistoles, too, had a large piercing through a lug or surplus of border metal, *swelling out beyond the beading*, a feature which in itself was highly unconvincing.

But worse was to come. Further examination of the coins showed that the two dies used for striking the coins (or for casting them?) were extremely close to dies 1 and 3 of the originals but differed from them in certain small details, while when the coins were placed alongside Aquilla Smith's drawing of 1860 it was found that the designs coincided almost exactly. In other words both sides of the coins in question imitated minutely an illustration which had been subjected in the nineteenth century to processing for book plate reproduction, with such slight defects that must occur; and the coins were certainly not struck from any of the actual known dies all of which had then been recorded photographically. This proved the falsity of the two pieces beyond question. An answer along these lines was sent to Mr. Mitchell who duly acknowledged the information.

Rather more than a year later Mr. Patrick Finn, of Messrs. Spink & Son Ltd., sent



a somewhat similar letter to the Ulster Museum enclosing some enlarged coloured photographic prints of another 'pistole', which appeared to be from very similar dies or moulds. Mr. Finn had at once recognized the coin as counterfeit and said in his letter that it was 'exactly the same as the one I saw in New Orleans and I do not know how many are going around'. His letter went on 'I suppose they were manufactured by a plaster cast technique but I am not sure which coin they used to copy from'. Subsequent information revealed that the coin of which the photographs had been sent to Belfast was in the possession of Mr. Cornelius McAuliffe of Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A. Mr. Finn was also reasonably sure that he knew the identity of the perpetrator of the counterfeits, a clever die-engraver who lived on the coast of California. A letter bearing on the subject of these forgeries was sent to Mr. Russell Rulau who published the substance of it in *Coin World* (28 February 1973), p. 9.

From the information already obtained Mr. McAuliffe was warned by Mr. Finn, and separately by W. A. S., that his pistole was spurious but by that time he had already taken the matter to a third referee, the director of the American Numismatic Association Certification Service. Most unfortunately a panel of that organization, without consulting numismatic specialists, either in Ireland or in Britain, gave a certificate of authenticity to Mr. McAuliffe in April, partly, it seems, on the basis of the metal content. Incidentally this was found to be almost pure gold, having therefore a much lower alloy of silver or copper than would have been likely or indeed possible in any of the original coins.

This result proved too much for those of us who had devoted considerable research in sorting out the genuine coins from the copies; and Mr. Michael Dolley, who up to that time had been a silent but very interested onlooker, wrote in April 1973 a somewhat caustic letter of inquiry to Mr. Charles Hoskins. But, receiving no reply, he sent a strongly worded letter to the President of the A.N.A. suggesting the certificate be withdrawn or the A.N.A. must bear the full onus of providing undoubted proof of the pistole's authenticity. In July 1973 a belated reply to Mr. Dolley's first letter was received in Belfast from Mr. Virgil Hancock of the International Section of the A.N.A., with a sincere apology and an explanation of how the mistake probably arose. Mr. Hoskins on a second examination of the coin had been prepared to withdraw the certificate, and it was agreed that a very searching investigation of the forgeries would be made, for he believed that no fewer than eleven false pistoles could be accounted for, and that the name of the man who had manufactured them was known to the Association.

Meanwhile a letter had been received by Mr. Finn from the Bowers and Ruddy Galleries Inc. of Hollywood, California, the firm that had originally sold the coin to Mr. McAuliffe, stating that should the coin prove to be false they would willingly refund the collector his money. With suitable acknowledgements between the various interested parties on both sides of the Atlantic the matter now rests, and a two-page report by Virgil Hancock on the false coins has been published in the August 1973 number of *The Numismatist*, pp. 1382-3, under the heading 'Featuring Fakes'; while a second up-to-date and much fuller account of the investigation is given by Mr. Derek Young under the title 'The Authenticated forgery' in *Irish Numismatics*, no. 35 (Sept.-Oct. 1973), pp. 193-6, the McAuliffe specimen being illustrated on the cover, p. 185. Further notes on the exposure are in *Irish Numismatics*, no. 36 (Nov.-Dec. 1973), p. 233. This and the two earlier examples examined are illustrated on Pl. 2, C.P. 3, C.P. 1, and C.P. 2.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writers wish to express their indebtedness to a number of persons who have assisted in piecing together this background account of the Irish gold coins. It was really at the instigation of Mr. Michael Dolley that the inquiry was set on foot in the first instance and both of us recognize how greatly he has helped with his advice on many points throughout, although the authors are alone responsible for any conclusions set down here, whether right or wrong. Mr. John Teahan, Keeper of the Art and Industrial Division of the National Museum at Dublin, and other members of the staff there have been co-operative and given their usual courtesy in allowing us to photograph and weigh the coins in their custody and to examine the original registers. The same may be said for Miss Marion Archibald and Mrs. Joan Martin at the British Museum, in answering innumerable inquiries on our behalf. We are grateful to the Duke of Sutherland, not only for allowing one of us to photograph his Irish coins prior to the Bridgewater House sale, but also for the loan of two of the specimens for display at Belfast in 1969. Miss J. Fagerlie of the American Numismatic Society in New York also kindly assisted us with weight, s.g., and photographs of the pistole in the possession of the Society, while the good services of Mr. Patrick Finn, acting as an intermediary on many occasions, have been evident from the start.

Mr. Christopher Blunt kindly sent an account of his presence at the opening of the cabinet of coins at Bridgewater House in 1936 when the pistoles and double pistoles first came to his notice. We must also extend our gratitude to Mr. Colm Gallaher for making a further search of the Ormonde MSS. at the National Library of Ireland in case any contemporary notices of the Irish issues had escaped detection, and to the Assay authorities in Dublin who searched through seventeenth-century records of the Goldsmiths' Company to try and discover whether anything further on the minting of the coins might be traced; but in the event both these investigations proved negative.

Mr. Stuart Lane of Kilcock and London has been consulted at different times and we would like to believe it was one of his ancestors, known to have settled in Ireland before the mid seventeenth century, to whom the pistoles were paid in 1646! Lastly we should mention that we have had correspondence and private discussion with Dr. William O'Sullivan, who has given freely of his time; he had the unique experience of helping to track down more than half the extant number of Irish pistoles, as well as being the first to recognize exactly when they were issued.

In regard to the detection of the counterfeit coins, besides those persons already mentioned in the text and whose help we freely acknowledge, we might mention Mr. Peter Seaby, Mr. Emil Szauer, and Father Gerard Rice, all of whom have played some part in building up the story.



P.6



P.7



P.8



P.9



P.10



P.11



P.3(b)



P.2



P.4(b)



P.5(b)



DP.1



DP.2



CP.1



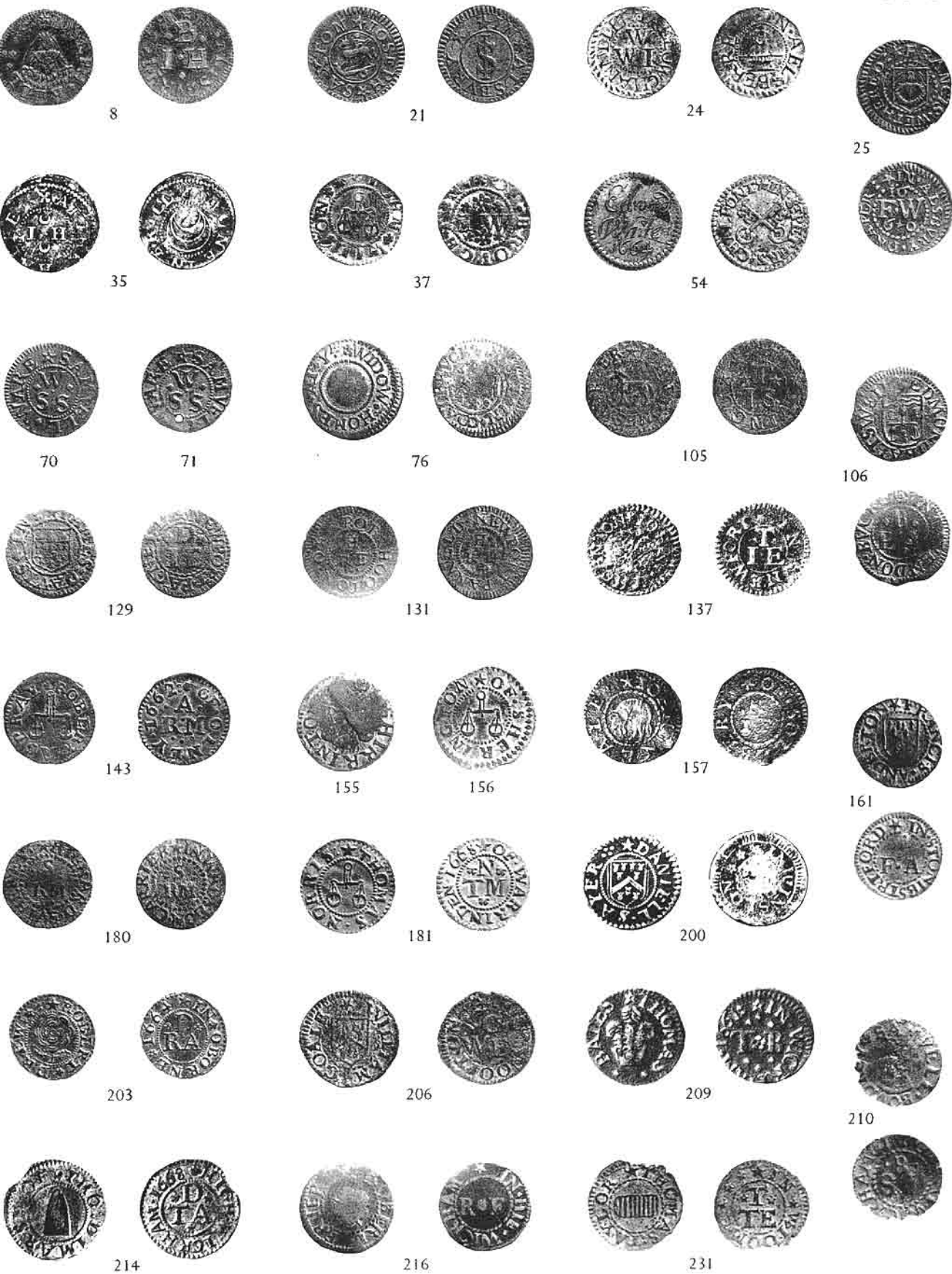
CP.2



CP.3













232



10



99



33



57



59



62



65



98



104



110



115



116



120



125



141



160



205





# A REVISED SURVEY OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

GEORGE BERRY AND PETER MORLEY

MANTON AND HOLLIS produced the standard work on the seventeenth-century trade tokens of Buckinghamshire between the years 1926 and 1931, in the form of three papers in *BNJ* xviii, xix, and xx (1925-6, 1927-8, and 1929-30).<sup>1</sup> Spink & Son Ltd. reprinted the papers as one volume, whilst the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society organized a limited edition of seventy-five overprints in 1933. This latter included a further corrigenda, an index, and the woodcuts exhibited by Manton in support of his paper to the Society delivered on 24 February 1926. Of the seventy-five copies, only twenty-five were scheduled for sale at £1. 1s. each, the others being distributed by the authors as they saw fit. A small number of copies were sold by Manton's widow, in the late 1940s, for 8s. each.

Forty years have elapsed since this work appeared and, though a further list has been published,<sup>2</sup> the authors feel that a revision is needed to clarify certain points which have puzzled previous writers. Accordingly, this survey is an attempt to provide a completely up-to-date list of the tokens, together with a brief analysis of the style of the pieces on the lines of Milne's excellent catalogue of the Oxfordshire series.<sup>3</sup> Milne showed that a study of the style, especially of the borders, gave an indication as to whether a certain piece appeared early in the series (1648-c. 1664), or late in the series (c. 1659-1672). This helps in giving a loose dating to the many undated tokens in the series.<sup>4</sup> Those tokens which can definitely be attributed to David Ramage must have been struck prior to 1662, the year he died. The tokens in the list have not been described in full as it is hoped this will be incorporated as a primary feature in a new work on the

<sup>1</sup> James Odom Manton and Edwin Hollis, *Buckinghamshire Trade Tokens Issued in the Seventeenth Century*.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Seaby, *A Guide to the Token Coinage of the 17th Century. Part 1: Home Counties, Buckinghamshire*, *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, July-August 1960.

<sup>3</sup> John Grafton Milne, *Catalogue of Oxfordshire Seventeenth Century Tokens*, Oxford University Press, 1935.

<sup>4</sup> It is now generally accepted that, as was first suggested by Milne, the majority of tokens of earlier (pre-Restoration) issue or date, have an outer border of labels and an inner one of cable pattern. The majority of the later tokens have an outer border of diamonds and an inner one of dots. Study of the Buckinghamshire series has revealed one exception to the above 'rule'. While Milne found no Oxford county token of the later style dated before 1659, the earliest in the

series now under review is dated 1656 (no. 14, Stephen Dagnall of Aylesbury). Admittedly this has no inner circles and is struck in lead, thus marking it apart from the general run of seventeenth-century tokens.

Similarly, the issue of tokens with the earlier style of outer border appears to have been carried out until the mid 1660s. The latest-dated piece with this type of border is no. 85 (Richard Robinson of Eton), dated 1666. Other late pieces of this style, though dated 1664, are nos. 183 and 202.

There are also three cases of 'border muling' between early and late styles in the Buckinghamshire series, although in two of the three cases it only involves the outer border. The three tokens are no. 68, (John Tyler of Chesham), no. 200 (Daniel Sayer of Winslow), and no. 213 (Thomas Butterfield of Wycombe). The exception is no. 200, where the plain line inner circle on the obverse becomes one of round dots. Only the first of the three is dated, 1665.

tokens and their issuers to be published independently. Reasonably accurate, but not infallible, complete readings were provided by Manton and Hollis in their papers.

Manton and Hollis themselves not only listed all the tokens of the county known to them, but they also interested themselves in the issuers, unearthing a considerable amount of detail concerning their personal as well as their business lives. They relied chiefly on parish registers and documents preserved in the Muniment Room of the County Museum, Aylesbury, but did not consult hearth tax and quarter-session records, borough archives, wills, inventories, and records of the Free Churches. Using these sources the writers have been enabled to fill in some of the gaps and discover a great deal more about the men and women who issued the tokens, including their family background, their social status, and their political and religious leanings.

Twelve tokens have been added to the list originally published by Manton and Hollis, and fourteen omitted. A considerable number of amendments have been made, all of which are outlined below.

The writers have prepared a table of all the Buckinghamshire tokens in this series known to them, in order to compile the study of die-axes which appears in this paper. Sources used have been museums throughout the United Kingdom, private collections, and the stocks of the larger London coin dealers. Of the 1,494 tokens detailed in the study, 972 are in museum collections, or just over 65 per cent of the total.

The commonest token is no. 13, that of Edward Cope, draper of Aylesbury. Altogether seventy-three specimens have been examined. The second commonest is no. 147, John Gaynes of Olney, of which forty-three examples have been recorded, and the third commonest is no. 132, Samuel Lambert of Newport Pagnell. Other common tokens are no. 12, Gyles Childe of Aylesbury, no. 177, Edward Purcell of Thornborough, and no. 217, Jeremiah Gray of High Wycombe. Many tokens in the Buckinghamshire series are extremely rare. There are, in fact, fourteen pieces of which only one example is believed known, and a further eight tokens of which the writers have only managed to examine a single specimen.<sup>1</sup> No specimens of nos. 4, 112, 128, or 140 have come to light in researches. With the exception of no. 4, these are descriptions copied from William Boyne's *Tokens Issued in the Seventeenth Century*. However, specimens of nos. 112 and 140 are recorded as having been on the market in the last twenty years. Likewise, the writers have failed to unearth any specimens of nos. 47, 169, and 184.

A study of the dated pieces is of interest:

1650	1	1656	3	1662	4	1668	25
1651	1	1657	4	1663	1	1669	17
1652	8	1658	6	1664	8	1670	5
1653	7	1659	1	1665	7	1671	5
1654	0	1660	3	1666	19		
1655	3	1661	2	1667	11		

It will be seen that the peak years of issue were 1666, 1668, and 1669. The earliest

<sup>1</sup> The fourteen pieces of which only one example is believed known are nos. 10 (ex Lowsley sale, Sotheby, 3 May 1899, lot 4), no. 24 (excavated Aylesbury, July 1927), no. 59, no. 65, no. 76, no. 105 (ex Glendinning, 12 July 1929, lot 361), no. 110, no. 143 (ex Ratcliff collection), no. 153 (ex Browne Willis collection), no. 156 (ex Ratcliff collection), no. 157,

no. 210 (ex Albert Taplin bequest, 1929), no. 231, and no. 232.

Apart from the above, the eight tokens of which the writers have only been able to examine one specimen are nos. 25, 70, 71, 125, 131, 180, 206, and 214.



dated Buckinghamshire tokens appeared in the north of the county, namely John Hartley's at Buckingham (1650) and William Inns's at Fenny Stratford (1651). The majority of tokens are dated (141 out of 235). The latest to appear were four at Chesham and one at Brill, all in 1671.

A large number of undated tokens were issued at Newport Pagnell (14 out of 17) and at Stony Stratford (11 out of 15, all very early in style), and at Winslow (7 out of 13). Of the six dated tokens at Winslow, five bear the date 1666. All the Fenny Stratford tokens, on the other hand, were dated, yet with one exception, they are all early (1651-6).

All these facts point to a definite pattern of distribution. It seems likely that agents toured the towns and villages to canvass the tradesmen and gain orders for Ramage and the other London die-sinkers. Their route can almost be traced. It is not sheer chance that five Winslow tokens bear the same date, and four of Chesham are all dated 1671. The fact that it seems customary for the tokens issued in some areas to be undated bears witness that the agents suggested what was put on the tokens. Nowhere is this more true than in the north-east of the county, where no less than twenty-three tokens from seven places in an eight-mile radius of each other bear the same device, a pair of scales. This must have been somewhat confusing for local housewives, for the traders were not all grocers.<sup>1</sup>

There can be little doubt that the dies for most of the Buckinghamshire tokens were centrally engraved. The majority of the earlier ones bear the unmistakable stamp of Ramage. The later tokens were almost certainly struck from dies made in London, as the same punches used to make the dies for them have also been used to produce dies for a number of London tokens. This follows the pattern of the Oxfordshire series.

In his catalogue, Milne pointed out (Introduction, xv) that it appeared the dies of the Ramage tokens were adjusted so as to be struck in two positions only. However, the writers, having examined a great number of specimens of one county than did Milne, have found that the Ramage tokens issued in Buckinghamshire can occur with as many as three (nos. 69, 72, 79, and 234) or even four (nos. 102 and 223) different die-axes. In all, the writers have noted that ten tokens in the Buckinghamshire series occur with four different die positions.

#### CATALOGUE OF TOKENS

##### *Amersham*

1. M. 1	Andrew Barowes	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1652	A.B.	CLOTHWORKER
2. M. 2 BW. 1	Andrew Burrowes	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1665	A.F.B.	Clothworkers' Arms
3. M. 3 BW. 2	John Cocke	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1666	I.M.C.	Unicorn
4. M. 4 BW. 3	Francis Lane	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1666	F.G.L.	FL monogram
5. M. 5 BW. 4	Elizabeth Rutt	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668	E.R.	Shuttle
6. M. 6 BW. 5	William Statham	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1653	W.B.S.	
7. M. 7 BW. 6	Richard Webb	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	'66	R.S.W.	Hand holding axe over leaf

##### *Aylesbury*

8. M. 8 BW. 7	Joseph Bell	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1659	I.H.B.	Mercers' Arms
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<sup>1</sup> The tokens in question, bearing a pair of scales, are nos. 37 (Broughton), 82 and 83 (Emberton), 121, 122, 123, 124, 128, 132, 134, and 136 (Newport Pagnell), 139 (North Crawley), 142-9 (Olney), 155 and 156 (Sherington), and 181 (Warrington).

9. M. 9 BW. 8	William Burgas	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1670		Turk's head
10. M. 10	William Burges	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1670		Turk pouring coffee ( <i>Square</i> )
11. M. 11 BW. 9	Richard Butler	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1666	R.S.B.	Crown, R.B. below
12. M. 12 BW. 10	Gyles Childe	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		G.D.C.	MERCER, Mercers' Arms
13. M. 13 BW. 11	Edward Cope	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		E.D.C.	Drapers' Arms
14. M. 14	Stephen Dagnall	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1656	S.I.D.	Book (Fig. 1) ( <i>Lead</i> )



FIG. 1 No. 14

15. M. 16 BW. 12	W(illiam) D(awney)	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1657	W.E.D.	Bust of King Henry VIII
16. M. 17					(as above, detail differences in dies)
17. M. 15	John Dossett	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1670	I.I.D.	Malt shovel
18. M. 18 BW. 14	Joseph Freer	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1652	I.M.F.	MARCE, Mercers' Arms
19. M. 19 BW. 15	John Hill	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1665		TALLOW CHANDLER, Man dipping candles
20. M. 20 BW. 16	Thomas Hill	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		T.R.H.	MERCER, Mercers' Arms
21. M. 21 BW. (Wilts. 224)	Joseph Saxton	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		I.S.	St. George and the Dragon
22. M. 22 BW. 17	Thomas Stratford	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1667	T.M.S.	
23. M. 23 BW. 13	Alexander Trott	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1669	A.A.T.	GROCER, Grocers' Arms
24. M. 25	W(illiam) W(elch)	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		W.I.W.	TALLOW CHANNDLER, Man dipping candles
25. M. 24 BW. 18	Francis Wethered	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1660	F.W.	DRAPER, Mercers' Arms

*Beaconsfield*

26. M. 26 BW. 19	T(homas) C(ocke)	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		T.I.C.	
27. M. 27 BW. 22	Thomas Cocke	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		T.K.C.	Cock
28. M. 28 BW. 20	John Fosset	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1669		Paschal lamb
29. M. 29 BW. 23	J(oseph) G(rimsdale)	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1658	I.M.G.	B over date
30. M. 30 BW. 21	Henry Tripp	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1668	H.A.T.	Stick of candles
31. M. 31 BW. 24	William Willis	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1668	W.F.W.	Bull

*Brill*

32. M. 32 BW. 25	Thomas Cater	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1671	T.E.C.	
33. M. 33	William Clark	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1669	W.E.C.	Mercers' Arms
34. M. 34 BW. 26	William Goldar	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		W.A.G.	MERCER, Mercers' Arms
35. M. 35 BW. 28	J H	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		I. H.	AT THE HALF MONE, Half moon
36. M. 36 BW. 29	Elizabeth Scarlett	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1669	E.S.	Grocers' Arms

*Broughton*

37. M. 38	John Wilson	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		I.W.	Scales
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*Buckingham*

38. M. 39 BW. 31	William Atton	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1663	W.E.A.	DRAPER, Two bells
39. M. 40 BW. 30	Elizabeth Crawley	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1668		Heron
40. M. 43 BW. 33	John Hartlee	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1650	I.H.	Heart
41. M. 41 BW. 32	John Hartlee	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		I.H.	Heart (reads BVCKINGGAM)
42. M. 41a					(as above, detail differences in rev. die)
43. M. 42	John Hartlee	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		I.H.	Heart (reads BVCKINGGAME)
44. M. 44 BW. 34	John Hartley	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1660	I.H.	Heart

45. M. 45 BW.	John Hartley	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1660	I.H.	Heart, tree
(Uncertain 39)					
46. M. 46 BW. 35	John Hartley Junior	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1665	I.H.	
47. M. 47	John Kew				
48. M. 48	John Rennals	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668		Strip of lace
49. M. 49 BW. 36	John Rennals	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668	I.E.R.	Strip of lace
50. M. 50 BW. 37	Peter Reynoldes	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	'58	P.F.R.	Strip of lace
51. M. 51 BW. 38	George Robins	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		G.R.	MERCER, lamb couchant

*Chalfont St. Peter*

52. M. 52 BW. 39	John Bennitt	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668	I.O.B.	Greyhound
53. M. 53 BW. 40	Jarvice Good	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		I.M.G.	Greyhound
54. M. 54 BW. 41	Edward White	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1664		Crossed keys

*Chesham*

55. M. 55 BW. 42	Richard Amond	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1664	R.D.A.	Clothworkers' Arms
56. M. 56 BW. 43	William Childe	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		W.M.C.	BREWER, Brewers' Arms
57. M. 57 BW. 45	Rise Davis	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1671	R.E.D.	HIS $\frac{1}{2}$
58. M. 58 BW. 46	Abraham Garraway	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1671	A.M.G.	Crossed pipes
59. M. 60	William Grome	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1671	W.S.G.	Pair of shears
60. M. 59 BW. 44	William Guome	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1671	W.S.G.	Pair of shears
61. M. 61 BW. 47	John Grover	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1655	I.I.G.	
62. M. 62 BW. 49	Thomas Hall	$\frac{1}{2}d.$			MERCER, Grocers' Arms, roll of cloth
63. M. 63			(as above, detail differences in <i>obv.</i> die)		
64. M. 64 BW. 48	James Joyse	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	'58	I.M.I.	
65. (SNC, May 1937)	Thomas Slauter	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669	T.M.S.	Cordwainers' Arms
66. M. 65 BW. 51	Samuel Trecher	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1653	S.G.T.	
67. M. 66 BW. 50	Samuel Trecher	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1665	S.I.T.	MERCER, Mercers' Arms
68. M. 67 BW. 52	John Tyler	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1665	I.A.T.	Mercers' Arms
69. M. 68 BW. 53	Richard Ware	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1653	R.P.W.	
70. M. 69	Samuell Ware	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1658	S.S.W.	
71. (unpubd.)			(as above, detail differences in <i>obv.</i> die)		

*Colnbrook*

72. M. 223 BW.	Thomas Burcombe	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		T.D.B.	Hart
(Devon 42)					
73. M. 224 BW.	John Forise	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1667	I.S.F.	AT Y <sup>E</sup> , Bear
(Devon 43)					
74. M. 70	Alce Goad	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669		AT THE BELL, Bell
75. M. 225 BW.	John Guy	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1652	I.B.G.	CHANDLER, Cock
(Devon 44)					
76. M. 226 BW.	Widow Homes	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		S.H.	AT Y <sup>E</sup> BALL, Ball
(Devon 45)					
77. M. 227 BW.	John Hosey	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		I.I.H.	AT THE ANGELL, Angel
(Devon 46)					
78. M. 228 BW.	Samuell Mills	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	'57	S.M.M.	Ostrich
(Devon 47)					
79. M. 229 BW.	Edmund Slocombe	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1653	E.D.S.	Three stags
(Devon 48)					

*Edlesborough*

80. M. 71 BW. 55	Daniell Finch	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1666	D.S.F.	
81. M. 72			(as above, detail differences in <i>obv.</i> die)		

*Emberton*

82. M. 73 BW. 56	John Peirceson	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1668		Scales
83. M. 74 BW. 57	Anthony Scaldwell	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1664	A.A.S.	Scales

*Eton*

84. M. 76 BW. 59	Thomas Collings	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669		Fleur-de-lis
85. M. 77 BW. 60	Richard Robinson	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1666	R.A.R.	Crossed pipes

*Fenny Stratford*

86. M. 79 BW. 63	Robert Honnor	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1655	R.L.H.	Grocers' Arms
87. M. 80 BW. 64	Robert Honnor	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	'67	R.L.H.	
88. M. 81 BW. 65	William Inns	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1651	W.A.I.	
89. M. 82 BW. 66	John Smalbons	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1656	I.E.S.	Hat
90. M. 83			(as above, detail differences in dies)		

*Great Horwood*

91. M. 90 BW. 72	John Carter	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668		Scales
92. M. 91 BW. 71	Henry Feilden	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668		Acorn
93. M. 94 BW. 75	Francis Woodcock	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		F.E.W.	Haberdashers' Arms
94. M. 93 BW. 74	Francis Woodcock	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		F.E.W.	Haberdashers' Arms
95. M. 95	Francis Woodcocke	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		F.F.W.	

*Haddenham*

96. M. 84 BW. 67	John Morefeld	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		I.M.	CARRIER, Man walking
97. M. 85	John Morfield	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		I.M.	CARRIER, Man walking

*Hambledon*

98. M. 86 BW. (Hants 75)	John Lane	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669	I.M.L.	Horseshoe
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*Horton*

99. M. 230 BW. (Yorks. 127)	George Goad	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669	G.M.G.	
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*Hughenden*

100. M. 88 BW. 68	Francis Barnaby	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		F.A.B.	GROCER, Three tuns
101. M. 89 BW. 70	Francis Barnaby	$\frac{1}{2}d.$			GROCER, Three tuns

*Iver*

102. M. 96 BW. 76	Nicholas Mervin	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		N.E.M.	BAKER, Bakers' Arms
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*Ivinghoe*

103. M. 97 BW. 77	Robert Barnes	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		R.S.B.	MERCER, Scales
104. M. 98 BW. 79	Henry Butler	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	'67		BAKER, Bakers' Arms
105. M. 98a	John Tomes	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		I.S.T.	MERCER, Horse

*Lavendon*

106. M. 99 BW. 80	Edmond Baltswell	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		E.A.B.	Bakers' Arms
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*Leckhamstead*

107. M. 100 BW. 81	Abraham Taylor	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669		AT Y <sup>e</sup> COCK, Cock
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*Little Brickhill*

108. M. 101 BW. 82	Charles Lord	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1669		Man making candles
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*Little Horwood*

109. M. 92 BW. 73	Hugh Willeatt	$\frac{1}{4}d.$		H.A.W.	Crowned rose
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*Marlow*

110. M. 103	Alice Boulter	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		A.B.	Queen's bust crowned
111. M. 102 BW. 83	Alice Boules	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		A.B.	Queen's bust crowned
112. M. 104 BW. 85	Stephen Harris	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		S.D.H.	Scales
113. M. 105 BW. 86	Stephen Harris	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669	S.D.H.	Scales
114. M. 106 BW. 87	Thomas Lane	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1666	T.L.	
115. M. 107 BW. 84	Alice Parker	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		A.P.	Queen's bust crowned
116. M. 108 BW. 88	Peter Rivers	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1667	P.A.R.	Family Arms
117. M. 109 BW. 89	Tho. Smith	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		T.I.S.	Crossed guns
118. M. 111	Silvester Widmere	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		S.K.W.	Griffin
119. M. 110 BW. 90					(as above, detail differences in dies)

*Mursley*

120. M. 112 BW. 91	Henry Pitkin	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668		SILKE WEAVER, Shuttle
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*Newport Pagnell*

121. M. 113 BW. 92	William Breden	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		W.E.B.	Scales
122. M. 114 BW. 93	John Burgis	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668	I.S.B.	Scales
123. M. 115 BW. 94	Josias Chapman	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		I.C.	Scales
124. M. 116 BW. 95	John Child	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		I.R.C.	Scales
125. M. 117 BW. 96	John Child	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1667		Tobacco and pipes ( <i>Lead</i> )
126. (unpubd.)	Edward Cooper	$\frac{1}{2}d.$			<i>defaced</i> (reads PAYNELL)
127. M. 118 BW. 98	Edward Cooper	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1667	E.C.	Grocers' Arms (reads PANNELL)
128. M. 119 BW. 97	Edward Cooper	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		E.E.C.	Scales
129. (N. & Q 1928)	James Davis	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		I.E.D.	Skinners' Arms
130. M. 120 BW. 99	John Davis	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		I.I.D.	Drapers' Arms
131. M. 121 BW. 100	Rob. Hooton	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		R.E.H.	
132. M. 122 BW. 101	Samuell Lambert	$\frac{1}{2}d.$			Scales
133. M. 124 BW. 103	John Norman	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		I.E.N.	Grocers' Arms
134. M. 123 BW. 102	John Norman	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		I.N.	Scales
135. M. 125 BW. 104	Thomas Perrott	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		T.E.P.	Heart
136. M. 126 BW. 105	W S	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		W.F.S.	Scales
137. BW. (Hants 117)	John Thornton	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		I.E.T.	Thornbush

*Newton Longville*

138. M. 127 BW. (Lancs. 88)	Jeffery Willison	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1667	I.I.W.	Tobacco and pipes
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*North Crawley*

139. M. 128 BW. 106	Nicholas Steele	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		N.M.S.	Scales
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*Northall*

140. M. 129 BW. (Middx. 158)	William Ashby	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1666	W.A.A.	
141. M. 130 BW. (Middx. 159)	William Ashby	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668	W.A.A.	

*Olney*

142. M. 133 BW. 107	John Amps	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1662	I.R.A.	Scales
143. M. 136	Robert Aspray	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1662	R.M.A.	Scales
144. M. 134 BW. 108					(as above, detail differences in dies)
145. M. 137 BW. 109	James Brierly	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1658	I.M.B.	Scales
146. M. 138 BW. 110	Moses Freeman	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668	M.E.F.	Scales
147. M. 140 BW. 111	John Gaynes	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1652	I.S.G.	Scales
148. M. 139					(as above, detail differences in <i>obv.</i> die)
149. M. 141 BW. 112	Joseph Scrivener	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668	I.E.S.	Scales



*Princes Risborough*

150. M. 144 BW. 114	Edward Barnaby	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	E.W.B.	Three tuns
151. M. 143	Edward Barnaby	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1665 E.W.B.	
152. M. 142 BW. 113			(as above, detail differences in <i>rev.</i> die)	
153. M. 145 BW. 115	Thomas Headeach	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669 T.E.H.	Fleur-de-lis (Fig. 2) ( <i>Square</i> )



FIG. 2 No. 153



FIG. 3 No. 154

*Shenley*

154. M. 146 BW. (Herts. 184)	Joseph Inns	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1670 I.E.I.	(Fig. 3) ( <i>Octagonal</i> )
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*Sherington*

155. M. 147 BW. 116	Edward Britnell	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	E.A.B.	Scales (reads SHIRRINTON)
156. M. 148	Edward Britnell	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	E.A.B.	Scales (reads SHERINGTON)

*Soulbury*

157. BW. (Wilts. 209)	John Neale	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	I.F.N.	Fleece
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*Steeple Claydon*

158. M. 149 BW. 117	William Norman	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668 W.I.N.	
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*Stewkley*

159. M. 150 BW. 118	Thomas Coles	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1667	Grocers' Arms
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*Stokenchurch*

160. BW. (Oxon. 189)	George Cubbidge	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669 G.A.C.	Scissors
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*Stony Stratford*

161. M. 151 BW. 119	Francis Anderton	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	F.A.	Grocers' Arms
162. M. 152 BW. 120	Robert Anderton	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	R.M.A.	Three cloves
163. M. 153 BW. 122	Hugh Blatso	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	H.M.B.	Drapers' Arms
164. M. 154 BW. 121	John Botrill	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	I.A.B.	Cordwainers' Arms
165. M. 155 BW. 123	Thomas Burges	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1657 T.A.B.	Bakers' Arms
166. M. 156 BW. 124	Christoph. Clifton	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	C.I.C.	Pot of lilies
167. M. 157 BW. 125	Mathew Finall	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	M.F.F.	Phoenix and nest
168. M. 158 BW. 126	Thomas Forfeit	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	T.A.F.	Griffin
169. (Faulkner sale)	John Gomford			
170. M. 159 BW. 127	Henrey Honnor	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1664	
171. M. 160 BW. 128	William Marshall	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	W.M.M.	Lion rampant
172. M. 161 BW. 129	Francis Penn	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	F.P.	Mercers' Arms
173. M. 162 BW. 130	John Penn	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669 I.M.P.	
174. M. 163 BW. 131	William Smith	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668 W.E.S.	
175. M. 164 BW. 132	Richard Veasey	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	R.E.V.	Lion rampant

*Swanbourne*

176. M. 167 BW. 133	John Bavin	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	1652 I.B.	Dove
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*Thornborough*

177. M. 168 BW. 134	Edward Purssell	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668 E.P.	
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*Tingewick*

178. M. 169 BW. 135 George Drury  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  1669 G.M.D. Mercers' Arms  
 179. M. 170 BW. 136 John Durrant  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  1668 Fleur-de-lis

*Waddesdon*

180. M. 171 BW. 137 Richard Sutherey  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  R.M.S. CARRIER

*Warrington*

181. M. 172 BW. 138 Thomas Norris  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  1668 T.M.N. Scales

*Wendover*

182. M. 173 BW. 139 George Brown  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  G.A.B. CHAPMAN, Haberdashers' Arms  
 183. M. 174 BW. 140 John Duncombe  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  1664 I.E.D. Hat  
 184. (*Records of Bucks.* 1937) John Fossset  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  I.M.F. Paschal lamb  
 185. M. 175 BW. 141 Francis Funge  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  1668 F.E.F.  
 186. M. 176 BW. 142 Ralph Hill  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  1655 R.E.H. Rose  
 187. M. 177 BW. 143 Gabriell Prentice  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  1664 G.A.P. Grocers' Arms  
 188. M. 178 BW. 144 Thomas Stokins  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  1656 T.P.S.

*West Wycombe*

189. M. 210 BW. 168 Thomas Leech  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  1667 T.A.L. Lion rampant

*Winslow*

190. M. 180 BW. 146 Mathew Bishop  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  M.D.B. Three boars' heads  
 191. M. 179 BW. 145 Mathew Bishop  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  1666 M.D.B. Three boars' heads  
 192. M. 181 BW. 147 John Crawley and Mr. Dimock  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  1666 Hand holding axe over leaf  
 193. (as above, detail difference in *obv.* die)  
 194. M. 182 BW. 148 John Forrest  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  1666 I.M.F. Bakers' Arms  
 195. M. 185 BW. 150 William Gyles  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  W.M.G. Hat  
 196. M. 183 BW. 149 William Giles  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  1666 W.M.G. Hat  
 197. M. 186 BW. 151 Thomas Godwyn  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  T.I.G.  
 198. M. 186a Thomas Godwin  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  T.I.G.  
 199. M. 188 Daniell Sayer  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  D.S. Grocers' Arms  
 200. M. 187 BW. 152 (as above, detail differences in *rev.* die)  
 201. M. 189 BW. 153 Thomas Smallbones  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  T.A.S. Hat  
 202. M. 190 BW. 154 John Watts  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  '64 I.K.W.

*Wooburn*

203. (*SNC* Aug.–Sept. 1948) Robert Drew  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  1664 R.A.D. Rose  
 204. M. 192 BW. Jonathan Kingham  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  Water wheel  
 (Beds. 104)  
 205. M. 193 BW. Jonathan Kingham  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  I.K. Water wheel  
 (Beds. 105)

*Woughton-on-the-Green*

206. M. 194 William Coale  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  W.E.C. Grocers' Arms

*Wycombe*

207. M. 195 BW. 155 Thomas Atkines  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  1668 T.E.A.  
 208. M. 196 BW. 156 Thomas Bates  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  1661 T.B. Plumes  
 209. M. 196a (as above, detail differences in *obv.* die)  
 210. M. 197 Samuell Boudrey  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  S.I.B. King's bust crowned

211.	M. 201 BW. 159	Tho. Butterfield	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		T.B.	Wheatsheaf
212.	M. 199	Thomas Butterfeild	$\frac{1}{2}d.$			Wheatsheaf (reads PENNY)
213.	M. 198 BW. 157	Thomas Butterfeild	$\frac{1}{2}d.$			Wheatsheaf (reads PENY)
214.	M. 202 BW. 160	Tho. Dimarsh	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668	T.A.D.	Sugar loaf
215.	M. 203 BW. 161	William Fisher	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1652	W.A.F.	Clothworkers' Arms
216.	M. 204 BW. 162	Robert Frier	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		R.F.	Rose
217.	M. 205 BW. 163	Jeremiah Gray	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1652	I.M.G.	Swan chained
218.	M. 206 BW. 164	John Harding	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		I.M.H.	
219.	M. 207 BW. 165	Thomas Harding	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668	T.E.H.	
220.	M. 208 BW. 166	Francis Ingeby	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1666	F.I.	
221.	M. 209 BW. 167	John Juson	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1669	I.M.I.	Chequer board
222.	M. 211 BW. 171	Richard Lucas	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1653	R.D.L.	Lion rampant
223.	M. addenda					(as above, detail differences in rev. die)
224.	M. 212					(as above, detail differences in dies)
225.	M. 213 BW. 169	Richard Lucas	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1670	R.D.L.	Lion rampant
226.	M. 215 BW. 173	John Morris	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1666	I.M.	Stick of candles
227.	M. 214 BW. 172	John Morris	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1666	I.M.	Stick of candles
228.	M. 217 BW. 175	Alexander Parnam	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1668	A.K.P.	Greyhound
229.	M. 216 BW. 174	Richard Preist	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1662	R.E.P.	Crown
230.	M. 218 BW. 177	John Rowell	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1667	I.M.R.	Joiners' Arms
231.	M. 219	Thomas Taylor	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		T.E.T.	Roll of lace
232.	(Records of Bucks. 1937)	Robert Watson	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1666	R.M.W.	Saracen's head
233.	M. 220	Thomas Wheatly	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		T.S.W.	Wheatsheaf
234.	M. 221 BW. 178	Robert Whitton	$\frac{1}{2}d.$		R.K.W.	Stag
235.	M. 222 BW. 179	Edward Winch	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	1666	E.P.W.	Family Arms

## ADDITIONS

- |      |  |   |                        |
|------|--|---|------------------------|
| 65.  | <p>✠ THOMAS ✠ SLAUTER ✠<br/>The Cordwainers' Arms</p>        | <p>✠ IN ✠ CHESHAM ✠ 1669<br/>• HIS •<br/>HALFE<br/>• PENY •<br/>✠ • S • ✠<br/>T ✠ M</p>                   |                        |
| 71.  | <p>Obv. die variety of No. 70, reads ★ SAMVELL • WAR • E</p> |   | (SNC, May 1937)        |
| 126. | <p>• EDWARD • COOPER • OF<br/>Design defaced</p>             | <p>• NEWPORT • PAYNELL<br/>Design defaced</p>   | (Noted by the authors) |
| 129. | <p>★ IAMES = DAVIS ✠ IN =<br/>The Skinners' Arms</p>         | <p>(In Manton line drawings, described as M. 119 in error)<br/>★ NEWPORT • PAGNELL<br/>✠ D ✠<br/>I E</p>  |                        |
| 137. | <p>★ IOHN • THORNTON<br/>A thornbush</p>                     | <p>(Notes &amp; Queries, February 1928; also see SNC, June 1973)<br/>★ IN • NEWPORT<br/>• T •<br/>I E</p> |                        |
- (Seaby's *Coin and Medal Bulletin*, Sept.–Oct. 1974)

157. ★ IOHN • NEALE •  
A fleece  
★ OF • SOLLBERY •  
I N I  
I F  
(Pointed out to the writers by E. G. H. Kempson, Esq.; see <sup>1</sup>)
160. ★ GEORGE • CVBBIDGE • AT  
HIS  
HALF  
PENY  
• C •  
G • A  
★ STOKENCHURCH • 1669  
Pair of scissors, points  
downwards  
(Strictly speaking, an Oxfordshire token, but see <sup>2</sup>)
169. 'John Gomford in Stoney Statford' (W. J. Faulkner sale, Glendining & Co., 21 May 1940, lot 102. Passed into Manton collection, whereabouts now unknown)
184. ★ IOHN • FOSSCET — — —  
Paschal lamb  
★ IN • WINDOVER — — —  
• F •  
I • M  
(Description taken from a rubbing sent with a letter from E. Hollis to J. Manton, 2 July 1937. A line drawing also appears in *Records of Bucks.*, 1937. Token was in possession of the late Mr. Francis Colmer of High Wycombe. Present whereabouts are unknown.)
193. A variety of 192 in which the letters M<sup>R</sup> on obv. are countermarked IO. (Noted by Manton but not listed by him as a variety.)
203. ★ ROBERT • DREW: •  
A Tudor rose  
★ IN • OBORNE • 1664  
• D •  
R • A  
(SNC, August–September 1948, March 1949.)
232. ★ ROBERT • WATSON • IN  
A Saracen's head  
★ HIGH • WICKHAM • 1666  
★ W •  
R M  
★  
(Dug up by Mr. A. Bird, High Wycombe, June 1936; *Records of Bucks.*, 1937.)

## OMISSIONS

- M. 37 Brill Potteries:  
There is no evidence to support the inclusion of a token issued at or by the Brill Potteries.
- M. 49a. John Rennals of Buckingham:  
The reading BVCKINGGAM, known from a single specimen in the County Museum, Aylesbury, is rendered by the freak over-striking of the token on another of Rennals'. It is not a genuine die-sinker's error.

<sup>1</sup> Through the kindness of Mr. E. G. H. Kempson, when researches for this paper were in an advanced state, it has been possible to include a token from Soulbury, a village three miles north-west of Leighton Buzzard, where no tokens had previously been thought to have been issued.

The Neale family flourished in Soulbury in the mid seventeenth century. Five different members, including John, appear in the Michaelmas 1662 Hearth Tax returns. The Soulbury parish registers for the seventeenth century are unfortunately incomplete in parts but the two following entries almost certainly refer to the tokener and his wife:

'John Neal Buried June y<sup>e</sup> 21 1696

Francis Neale wid. Buried Sep 16 1699'

The reading in Williamson's Wiltshire section was taken from the specimen in Devizes Museum, which

remains the only one known to Mr. Kempson or the writers. It is worn in two places, and with the naked eye it is quite feasible to read SOLSBERY for SOLLBERY and I.E.N. for I.E.N. However, under a good glass or with an enlarged photograph, the deficiencies in the description given in Williamson come to light.

<sup>2</sup> Although strictly speaking this would be termed a seventeenth century token of Oxfordshire, it has a number of Buckinghamshire connections. Not the least of these is that Stokenchurch is now in Buckinghamshire, transferred by the County of Buckingham (Stokenchurch) Order of 1895, which came into effect on 31 March 1896. The issuer's family came from Brill, where George Cubbidge was born. The name is of very frequent occurrence in the parish registers of Brill and it is not possible to be certain of which baptismal entry refers to the issuer.

# TOKEN

- M. 51a. George Robins of Buckingham:  
The reading MARCER, also known from a single specimen in the County Museum, Aylesbury, is produced by traces of an indeterminable undertype on the token in question, which is in any case in a worn and defaced state. It is not a genuine die-sinker's error.
- M. 75. Thomas Bridges of Eton:  
This belongs to Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire (Blundell 58). There are numerous references to the issuer and his family in the Eaton Bray Bishops' Transcripts.
- M. 78. John Smith of Eton:  
This belongs to Eaton Socon, Bedfordshire (Blundell 63). There are several references to the issuer in the register of that parish, including his marriage in 1663. Smith kept the Cock, an important hostelry on the Great North Road, whence the symbol on his token. He was still there in 1688.<sup>1</sup>
- M. 87. William Church of Hartwell:  
This was issued at Hartwell, Northamptonshire (Wells 36). After the publication of Manton and Hollis's paper in *BNJ*, W. C. Wells replied, defending Boyne's original attribution of the piece to Northamptonshire, in 'The Hartwell Token' (*BNJ* xxi (1931)). Manton countered belatedly with a letter read to the Society on 28 October 1942, offering a further defence for Buckinghamshire, though the evidence offered by Wells appears virtually irrefutable.
- M. 131. John Fowler of Oakley:  
This belongs to Oakley, Bedfordshire (Blundell 105), as placed by Williamson. An entry in the parish register there is significant: '1665 22 Novr. Baptized Samuel the son of John and Susan Fowler'. Fowler was also a staunch Non-Conformist.<sup>1</sup>
- M. 132. Humphrey Morgan of Oakley:  
This belongs to Chulmleigh, Devonshire. Not recorded by Williamson, the first mention of this token with relation to Oakley was by Mr. Oliver Ratcliff,<sup>2</sup> the original owner of the worn specimen now in the County Museum, Aylesbury. The first complete reading of it, confirming its place in the Devonshire series, was published by Henry Symonds in *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* for 1906, although A. J. V. Radford in 'Coins and Tokens of Devon', reprinted from the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* for 1907, did not include it. Although he never possessed a specimen, the late W. R. Hooper duly records the token in 'Notes on a Collection of Devonshire Seventeenth Century Tokens', published in the same *Transactions* in 1945.<sup>3</sup>
- M. 135. Robert Aspray of Olney:  
Closer examination of six specimens of this token believed to be different from M. 134 in having no inner circle on the reverse revealed that traces of an inner circle were present on every one. Other details of the reverse die are exactly akin to specimens of M. 134.

<sup>1</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. D. J. Gaunt, Bedford.

<sup>2</sup> Author of *Buckinghamshire 17th Century Trade Tokens collected by Oliver Ratcliff*, privately printed by Ratcliff at his works in Olney in 1896. Ratcliff was a noted local chronicler and antiquary, and was the first collector who studied the Buckinghamshire series in perspective, albeit with a number of mistakes shown in his book, of which it is believed only twenty copies were printed to give to friends. Besides excavating several of the tokens in his prized collection himself, Ratcliff freely advertised in the *Numismatic Magazine* and early issues of the *Numismatic Circular* for specimens he did not possess. He was fortunate to be able to purchase, through commissions left with Messrs.

Spink, the Buckinghamshire tokens from the collections of R. T. Andrews, and Lt.-Col. B. Lowsley, which were dispersed in the sale-room in the last few years of the nineteenth century. Some of these still remain the only ones known today. Before leaving Buckinghamshire on his retirement, Ratcliff sold his collection of 191 tokens, and the woodblocks he made of them, to the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society in April 1912. This collection formed the basis on which the County Museum at Aylesbury has been able to build on in years since.

<sup>3</sup> Thanks to Mr. J. L. Wetton, Woking, the writers have been able to confirm, from a rubbing of the specimen in Mr. Wetton's collection, Symonds' original reading.



## M. 165-6. Francis Dix and Thomas Gibbs of Stowe:

These two tokens are correctly described under Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire, by Williamson, a very much larger place in the mid-seventeenth century than Stowe, Buckinghamshire. Recent research by Mr. Irvine Gray, former Gloucester County Archivist, points to the fact that the Gibbs family emanated from Donington, a detached hamlet of Stow-on-the-Wold. Thomas Gibbs, and William Mince, another token issuer, were the two bailiffs of Stow-on-the-Wold in 1653. Specimens of the Gibbs token have been found in Gloucestershire,<sup>1</sup> as have those of Dix.<sup>2</sup>

## M. 184. William Giles of Winslow:

This is the same as M. 183. The reading was taken by Manton from a clipped specimen of M. 183 in the County Museum, Aylesbury, which by nature of the clipping was devoid of the date and rendered to appear more as a farthing than a halfpenny.

## M. 191. Thomas Hill of Wooburn:

This belongs to Woburn, Bedfordshire (Blundell 135). Entries in the parish register there include: '1656 15 Octobr. mar. Thomas Hill and Ann Astill'.

## M. 200. Thomas Butterfield of Wycombe:

This was given a catalogue number by Manton and Hollis, but almost certainly the correct reading of the token is as described in M. 201. The entry was inserted on the authority of Williamson.

## AMENDMENTS

24-5 (M. 24-5). The tokens issued by William Welch and Francis Wethered have been placed in their correct alphabetical order.

31 (M. 31). The initials on William Willis's token are W.F.W., not W.E.W.

40-3 (M. 41-3). The early farthing tokens of John Hartley have been rearranged into what is believed to be a correct chronological sequence. That of the neatest workmanship, and incidentally the earliest dated token for the county in this series, is M. 43, dated 1650. The reverse of M. 43 had deteriorated somewhat by the time it came to be utilized as the reverse of M. 41, while lengthwise oval dots were replaced by a cable pattern as the inner circle. The significance of a diamond-shaped stop over the I of I. H. added even later (M. 41a) is not certain. Following this the die seems to have been scrapped, but the obverse die punches reappear virtually complete on M. 42, though wider spaced, coupled with a new reverse die.

59-60 (M. 59-60). The chronological order of the halfpence issued by William Grome have been reversed on the strength of study of the wear on the common reverse die, which is in near perfect condition on M. 60, but shows considerable signs of wear in the bars of the lettering and has also begun to flaw, on M. 59.

62-3 (M. 62-3). The device on the obverse of Thomas Hall's halfpence is a roll of cloth, not of tobacco.

72-9 (M. 70, 223-9). The tokens of Colnbrook have been inserted in their correct alphabetical order. Manton and Hollis put them at the end of their list, for Hollis, together with Mr. Francis Baker, discovered just before the 1929-30 volume of the *Journal* went to press in the summer of 1931, from entries in the Colnbrook and Horton parish registers, that they did not belong to Colebrook, Devonshire.

91-5 (M. 90-5). The tokens of Great Horwood have been re-arranged alphabetically in the new list. Additionally, M. 94 has been placed before M. 93, as Francis Woodcocke's farthing is considerably earlier in style than the halfpenny, and is the work of Ramage.

<sup>1</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. J. Neufville-Taylor, Curator, Gloucester Museum.

<sup>2</sup> See William Charles Wells, 'Seventeenth Century Tokens of Northamptonshire', *BNJ* viii (1911), p. 311.

- 99 (M. 230). The token of George Goad of Horton is inserted in correct alphabetical order. This token, thought to belong to Yorkshire when first put on record by H. S. Gill in 1879,<sup>1</sup> as well as being claimed for Staffordshire, was proved to belong to Horton, Buckinghamshire, in May 1931. The location of a specimen in an old collection of coins at Marlow prompted Mr. Baker to check the Horton parish registers, where numerous entries referring to the issuer and his family are to be found.
- 109 (M. 92). The token of Hugh Willeatt has been listed under Little Horwood, as this parish is quite separate from Great Horwood, and arranged in alphabetical sequence.
- 110-11 (M. 102-3). Study of the stages of wear of the reverse die common to both of Alice Boules's tokens, as well as that issued under her maiden name Parker (No. 115) enables a correct chronological sequence to be given. The first of the three to be issued, No. 115, has a largish head of the Queen, with a bun; the E of HER on the reverse is unflawed. No. 110 (M. 103) shows the E starting to flaw, while a smaller head appears on the obverse, with a more elaborate crown. Her married name is spelt incorrectly, BOVLER. On No. 111 (M. 102), the reverse flaw is much more pronounced, though for a strange reason the obverse die reincorporates the larger bust from No. 115, and most of the obverse letter punches. Careful examination of a fine specimen will reveal traces of PARKER beneath BOVLES, especially in the last letter.
- 118-19 (M. 110-11). In common with the majority of early issues and their varieties, the writers feel that No. 118 (M. 111), which is of very fine workmanship and has no inner circle on the obverse, is an earlier fabrication than No. 119 (M. 110). It is struck from different punches and appears to be a somewhat clumsy copy of the first.
- 133-4 (M. 123-4). The farthings of John Norman have been rearranged, as M. 124 is of earlier style than M. 123.
- 143-4 (M. 134-6). A very rare token of Robert Aspray is much neater and probably earlier in style (M. 136) than the more commonly found version (M. 134). A 'variety' first perpetuated by Oliver Ratcliff (M. 135) has been disproved (see Omissions).
- 147-8 (M. 139-40). The farthings of John Gaynes have been rearranged on the strength of the wear of the common reverse die. A flaw developed on the die running from the 6 of the date to the diamond stop to the right of the G of the initials of the issuer and his wife. This flaw is very pronounced on all the specimens of M. 139 examined, but not so pronounced (if visible at all) on the majority of specimens of M. 140.
- 150-2 (M. 142-4). The three tokens of Edward Barnaby have been rearranged. The undated farthing (M. 144) is earlier in style than the two halfpence (M. 142-3). Study of the obverse die common to both the halfpence shows that the one with pierced cinquefoils as stops on the reverse (M. 143) was struck first; the flaw by P of PENNY has just begun. The flaw noticeably developed with the issue of the token using pierced sixfoils as stops on the reverse (M. 142).
- 153 (M. 145). The initials on Thomas Headeach's token are T.E.H., not T.F.H.
- 189 (M. 210). The token of Thomas Leech of West Wycombe has been rearranged in correct alphabetical sequence.
- 190-1 (M. 179-80). The farthing of Matthew Bishop of Winslow (M. 180) is earlier in style than his halfpenny, dated 1666 (M. 179).
- 195-6 (M. 183-5). The two tokens of William Giles of Winslow have been rearranged in chronological sequence. The undated farthing (M. 185) is by Ramage, and of earlier fabrication than the halfpenny, which is dated 1666 (M. 183). A 'farthing' of 1666 (M. 184) has been disproved (see Omissions).
- 199-200 (M. 187-8). Both the farthing tokens issued by Daniel Sayer utilise the same reverse punches,

<sup>1</sup> Henry Septimus Gill, 'Unpublished 17th century Yorkshire Tokens', NC 1880.

but the minor obverse die differences also incorporate a change of borders. The earlier obverse, used for M. 188, has oblong labels on the outer edge and a plain line as the inner; the later obverse (M. 187) has an outer border of diamonds, and an inner of round dots.

- 211–13 (M. 198–201). The three tokens of Thomas Butterfield of Wycombe have been rearranged. The farthing (M. 201) is earlier than the two varieties of halfpence (M. 198–9). The order of the halfpence has been reversed on the strength of the border details. The obverse die is common to both tokens, but as the reverse of M. 199 has oblong labels on the outer edge, it is placed before M. 198, which bears an outer edge of diamonds. A third variety of halfpenny (M. 200) has been disproved (see Omissions).
- 223 (M. addenda). This variety of the Richard Lucas farthing struck by Ramage was first noticed by Manton in July 1933. It appears in the further corrigenda included in the overprints published by the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, but not in the papers published in the *Journal*. It utilizes the same obverse as No. 222 (M. 211), although the flaw in the region of the lion's left forepaw which is beginning in No. 222, is well advanced on No. 223. No. 224 (M. 212) on the other hand, is a crude copy of No. 223. It may even have been fabricated locally.
- 226–7 (M. 214–15). Although both tokens of John Morris of High Wycombe were dated 1666, it is likely that the farthing appeared first.
- 228–9 (M. 216–17). The tokens of Alexander Parnam and Richard Preist have been reversed into correct alphabetical sequence.
- 231 (M. 219). The device on Thomas Taylor's token is a roll of lace, not tobacco.
- 232 (M. —). The device on Robert Watson's token is a Saracen's head, not a virgin as Manton had originally believed when first shown the piece in 1936.

Border classification based on Milne's *Catalogue of Oxfordshire Seventeenth Century Tokens* (1935):

A	Round dots	E	Oval dots lengthwise
B	Diamonds	G	Cable pattern
C	Oblong labels	H	Plain line
D	Oval dots sideways		

The writers have merged Milne's F (cable pattern thin) and G (cable pattern thick) as they feel that this distinction was too fine.

#### References (Collections)

A	Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	L	London Museum, Kensington
B	Bedford Museum	LM	Luton Museum
BC	Birmingham City Museum	LV	Liverpool Museum
BM	British Museum, London	M	Manchester Museum
C	Buckinghamshire County Museum, Aylesbury	N	Norwich Museum
CM	Carlisle Museum	ND	North Devon Athenaeum, Barnstaple
D	Devizes Museum	O	Cowper Museum, Olney
F	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	P	Various private collections
G	Guildhall Museum, London	PM	Plymouth Museum
H	Hampshire County Museum Service, Winchester	U	Ulster Museum, Belfast
HM	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow	W	National Museum of Wales, Cardiff
HW	High Wycombe Public Library	WM	Oxford City and County Museum, Woodstock
		Y	Yorkshire Museum, York

TABLE OF STYLE AND DIE-AXES

No.	No. examined	Breakdown of die-axes	Borders	Date (R = Ramage)	Collections
<i>Amersham</i>					
1	7	180° (4) 360° (3)	Ce/Ce	1652 (R)	A 180° C 180° 360° HW 180° P 180° (2) 360°
2	9	90° (3) 180° (1) 270° (1) 360° (4)	Bg/Bg	1665	A 90° BM 360° C 90° 360° (2) HW 270° P 90° 180° 360°
3	3	180° (3)	Ba/Ba	1666	C 180° (2) P 180°
4	0			1666	
5	7	90° (3) 180° (3) 360° (1)	Ba/Ba	1668	A 90° BM 360° C 180° (2) HW 90° P 90° 180°
6	9	180° (8) 360° (1)	Cg/Cg	1653 (R)	A 360° BM 180° C 180° (2) HM 180° HW 180° (2) P 180° (2)
7	10	180° (3) 270° (7)	Bgh/Bg	1666	A 270° (2) BM 270° C 180° 270° HW 270° (2) P 180° (2) 270°
<i>Aylesbury</i>					
8	2	270° (2)	CH/C	1659	C 270° D 270°
9	3	270° (3)	Ba/Ba	1670	C 270° (2) HM 270°
10	1	180° (1)	B/B	1670	C 180°
11	10	180° (6) 360° (4)	Bgh/Bgh	1666	BM 180° C 180° 360° HW 360° P 180° (4) 360° (2)
12	30	180° (17) 360° (13)	Cg/Cg	Early (R)	A 180° (2) 360° BM 180° C 180° (11) 360° (3) HW 360° (2) P 180° (3) 360° (7)
13	73	90° (22) 180° (20) 360° (31)	Ba/Ba	Late	A 90° 360° BM 180° C 90° (7) 180° (3) 360° (10) F 180° HW 360° (2) LV 90° 180° M 90° P 90° (12) 180° (13) 360° (18) W 180°
14	2	360° (2)	B/B	1656	A 360° C 360°
15	9	180° (5) 360° (4)	D/Da	1657	A 360° BM 180° C 180° 360° HW 180° 360° P 180° (2) 360°
16	5	90° (1) 180° (1) 270° (2) 360° (1)	C/Ce	1657	C 270° (2) P 90° 180° 360°
17	2	360° (2)	B/Ba	1670	C 360° (2)
18	13	180° (13)	C/Cg	1652 (R)	A 180° (2) BM 180° C 180° (4) HW 180° (2) P 180° (4)
19	10	90° (2) 180° (2) 270° (2) 360° (4)	Bg/Bg	1665	A 270° BM 360° C 270° 360° (2) F 360° HW 90° P 90° 180° (2)
20	8	180° (5) 360° (3)	C/Ce	Early (R)	A 180° BM 360° C 180° (3) 360° HW 360° P 180°
21	4	360° (4)	CHh/CHh	Early	BM 360° C 360° (2) HW 360°
22	5	360° (5)	Ba/Ba	1667	A 360° C 360° (3) P 360°
23	5	180° (5)	Bg/Bg	1669	A 180° C 180° P 180° (2) Y 180°
24	1	360° (1)	Ca/Ca	Early	C 360°
25	1	360° (1)	CHe/CHe	1660	C 360°
<i>Beaconsfield</i>					
26	7	90° (4) 180° (2) 360° (1)	Ce/Ce	Early	A 90° C 90° 360° HW 90° M 90° P 180° (2)
27	3	90° (1) 360° (2)	Ba/Ba	Late	C 90° 360° HW 360°
28	13	180° (6) 270° (7)	Ba/Ba	1669	BM 180° C 270° (2) HW 270° (2) M 270° P 180° (5) 270° (2)
29	3	180° (3)	Dg/Dg	1658	BM 180° C 180° (2)
30	6	180° (4) 360° (2)	Ba/Ba	1668	C 180° 360° F 180° HW 180° P 180° 360°
31	4	90° (4)	Ba/Ba	1668	C 90° (2) P 90° (2)
<i>Brill</i>					
32	4	360° (4)	Ba/Ba	1671	A 360° C 360° (2) P 360°

No.	No. ex- amined	Breakdown of die-axes	Borders	Date (R = Ramage)	Collections
33	2	180° (2)	Ba/Ba	1669	C 180° (2)
34	4	180° (2) 360° (2)	C/Ce	Early (R)	A 360° BM 180° C 180° P 360°
35	3	360° (3)	Ba/Ba	Late	C 360° HM 360° P 360°
36	4	180° (4)	Ba/Ba	1669	BM 180° C 180° (2) HW 180°
<i>Broughton</i>					
37	2	360° (2)	Ba/Ba	Late	C 360° F 360°
<i>Buckingham</i>					
38	7	360° (7)	Ba/Ba	1663	A 360° C 360° (2) P 360° (4)
39	5	90° (1) 270° (4)	Ba/Ba	1668	A 90° BM 270° C 270° (2) P 270°
40	12	180° (11) 270° (1)	Ce/Ce	1650 (R)	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (3) HW 180° (2) P 180° (4) 270°
41	10	180° (10)	Cg/Cg	Early (R)	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (3) HW 180° (2) P 180° (3)
42	3	180° (1) 360° (2)	Cg/Cg	Early (R)	C 180° 360° P 360°
43	3	360° (3)	Da/Da	Early	BM 360° C 360° (2)
44	2	360° (2)	Ca/Ca	1660	C 360° (2)
45	12	360° (12)	Cd/C	1660	C 360° (2) G 360° HW 360° (2) P 360° (7)
46	18	90° (3) 180° (10) 270° (5)	Be/Be	1665	A 90° BM 90° C 90° 180° (6) HW 180° 270° P 180° (3) 270° (4)
47	0			1668	
48	5	360° (5)	Bah/Ba	1668	A 360° C 360° (2) P 360° (2)
49	18	90° (1) 270° (3) 360° (14)	Bah/Ba	1668	A 360° BM 270° 360° C 270° 360° (2) F 360° HM 360° HW 360° LM 360° (2) P 90° 270° 360° (4) W 360°
50	2	180° (2)	Ca/Ca	1658	C 180° (2)
51	10	180° (9) 360° (1)	C/Cg	Early (R)	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (3) HW 180° P 180° (3) 360°
<i>Chalfont St. Peter</i>					
52	6	180° (3) 270° (2) 360° (1)	Ba/Ba	1668	BM 270° C 180° (2) HW 360° P 180° U 270°
53	2	180° (1) 360° (1)	Da/De	Early	A 180° C 360°
54	4	90° (2) 270° (2)	B/B	1664	A 170° C 90° (2) P 270°
<i>Chesham</i>					
55	3	180° (1) 270° (2)	B/B	1664	BM 270° C 180° 270°
56	7	180° (7)	Cg/Cg	Early (R)	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (2) HW 180° P 180° (2)
57	4	360° (4)	Ba/Ba	1671	BM 360° C 360° (2) P 360°
58	4	90° (2) 180° (1) 270° (1)	Ba/Ba	1671	C 90° 270° P 90° 180°
59	1	90° (1)	Ba/Ba	1671	C 90°
60	4	360° (4)	Ba/Ba	1671	C 360° (2) P 360° Y 360°
61	5	180° (5)	Cg/Cg	1655 (R)	BM 180° C 180° (3) HW 180°
62	11	360° (11)	B/B	Late	A 360° BM 360° C 360° (2) HM 360° HW 360° (2) P 360° (4)
63	3	360° (3)	B/B	Late	C 360° (2) M 360°
64	2	180° (1) 360° (1)	Da/Da	1658	A 180° C 360°
65	1	270° (1)	Ba/Ba	1669	C 270°
66	2	180° (2)	Cg/Cg	1653 (R)	C 180° P 180°
67	8	180° (7) 360° (1)	Bg/Bg	1665	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (2) HW 180° P 180° (2) 360°
68	6	180° (2) 270° (1) 360° (3)	Cg/Dg	1665	BM 270° C 180° 360° HW 360° P 180° 360°
69	10	90° (3) 180° (4) 360° (3)	Ce/Ce	1653 (R)	BM 360° C 90° (2) 180° (2) HW 90° 360° P 180° (2) 360°



No.	No. examined	Breakdown of die-axes	Borders	Date (R = Ramage)	Collections
70	1	270° (1)	Da/Da	1658	C 270°
71	1	90° (1)	Da/Da	1658	C 90°
<i>Colnbrook</i>					
72	20	90° (4) 180° (8) 360° (8)	C/Ce	Early (R)	A 90° BM 360° C 90° 360° (5) F 180° HW 180° ND 90° P 90° 180° (4) 360° (2) PM 180° (2)
73	4	270° (4)	Ba/Ba	1667	BM 270° C 270° (2) P 270°
74	3	180° (3)	Ba/Ba	1669	C 180° (2) P 180°
75	10	180° (9)	D/De	1652 (R)	BM 180° C 180° (3) ND 180° P 180° (2) PM 180° (2)
76	1	90° (1)	CHc/CHc	Early	C 90°
77	2	180° (2)	C/Cg	Early	BM 180° P 180°
78	9	360° (9)	D/De	1657	A 360° BM 360° C 360° (3) ND 360° P 360° PM 360° (2)
79	10	90° (3) 180° (6) 360° (1)	Cg/Cg	1653 (R)	A 90° 180° (2) BM 180° C 180° (2) 360° ND 90° P 90° PM 180°
<i>Edlesborough</i>					
80	3	90° (2) 360° (1)	Ba/Ba	1666	C 90° (2) P 360°
81	7	270° (6) 360° (1)	Ba/Ba	1666	BM 270° C 270° (2) HW 270° 360° P 270° (2)
<i>Emberton</i>					
82	3	180° (2) 360° (1)	Bg/Bg	1668	A 360° B 180° C 180°
83	8	90° (2) 180° (3) 270° (2) 360° (1)	Ba/Ba	1664	BM 270° C 180° (2) HW 360° P 90° (2) 180° 270°
<i>Eton</i>					
84	5	180° (5)	Bah/Ba	1669	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (2) P 180°
85	3	270° (2) 360° (1)	Ce/C	1666	B 360° C 270° P 270°
<i>Fenny Stratford</i>					
86	4	180° (1) 360° (3)	Ce/Ce	1655 (R)	A 180° C 360° (2) P 360°
87	5	360° (5)	Ba/Ba	1667	A 360° C 360° HW 360° P 360° (2)
88	10	180° (8) 360° (2)	Cg/Cg	1651 (R)	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (2) 360° F 180° HW 180° (2) P 180° 360°
89	6	180° (5) 360° (1)	C/Ch	1656	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (2) P 180° 360°
90	5	90° (5)	C/CHh	1656	C 90° (2) HW 90° (2) P 90°
<i>Great Horwood</i>					
91	4	360° (4)	Ba/Ba	1668	A 360° C 360° (2) P 360°
92	3	90° (2) 180° (1)	Ba/Ba	1668	BM 90° C 90° 180°
93	12	180° (2) 360° (10)	Ch/Ce	Early (R)	A 360° (2) BM 360° C 180° 360° (3) HW 180° 360° (2) P 360° (2)
94	6	180° (2) 270° (4)	Ba/Ba	Late	A 180° C 270° (2) P 270° (2) W 180°
95	6	270° (6)	Bg/Bg	Late	BM 270° C 270° (2) HW 270° P 270° (2)
<i>Haddenham</i>					
96	11	180° (9) 360° (2)	C/Ce	Early	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (2) F 180° (2) HW 360° N 180° P 180° (2) 360°
97	5	180° (5)	C/Ce	Early (R)	C 180° (2) F 180° HW 180° P 180°
<i>Hambledon</i>					
98	3	360° (3)	Ba/Ba	1669	BM 360° C 360° H 360°
<i>Horton</i>					
99	3	360° (3)	Ba/Ba	1669	A 360° C 360° P 360°

<i>No.</i>	<i>No. exa- mined</i>	<i>Breakdown of die-axes</i>	<i>Borders</i>	<i>Date (R = Ramage)</i>	<i>Collections</i>
<i>Hughenden</i>					
100	12	180° (7) 360° (5)	D/D	Early	A 180° BM 360° C 360° (2) HM 180° HW 180° P 180° (4) 360° (2)
101	8	180° (3) 270° (5)	Cg/Cg	Early	A 180° BM 180° C 270° (3) F 180° HW 270° P 270°
<i>Iver</i>					
102	10	90° (1) 180° (4) 270° (3) 360° (2)	C/Cg	Early (R)	A 360° BM 180° C 90° 180° 270° HW 180° (2) P 270° (2) 360°
<i>Ivinghoe</i>					
103	3	180° (2) 360° (1)	D/Da	Early	A 180° C 180° 360°
104	2	180° (1) 360° (1)	Ba/Ba	1667	C 180° 360°
105	1	360° (1)	Ce/CHe	Early	C 360°
<i>Lavendon</i>					
106	3	270° (3)	D/Da	Early	C 270° (2) P 270°
<i>Leckhamstead</i>					
107	5	360° (5)	Ba/Ba	1669	A 180° BM 360° C 360° (2) HW 360°
<i>Little Brickhill</i>					
108	6	90° (6)	Ba/Ba	1669	C 90° (2) P 90° (4)
<i>Little Horwood</i>					
109	7	270° (4) 360° (3)	Ba/Ba	Late	A 270° BM 270° C 360° (2) HW 270° (2) P 360°
<i>Marlow</i>					
110	1	270° (1)	Ba/Bg	Late	C 270°
111	8	180° (1) 270° (2) 360° (5)	Bg/Bg	Late	A 360° BM 270° C 270° 360° P 180° 360° (3)
112	0				
113	3	180° (3)	Ba/Ba	1669	A 180° C 180° P 180°
114	3	180° (2) 360° (1)	Ba/Ba	1666	A 180° BM 360° C 180°
115	3	90° (3)	Bg/Bg	Late	C 90° (2) P 90°
116	2	180° (2)	Ba/Ba	1667	C 180° P 180°
117	6	270° (1) 360° (5)	Ch/CHh	Early	BM 360° C 360° (2) HW 360° P 270° 360°
118	2	180° (1) 360° (1)	C/Cg	Early (R)	C 180° 360°
119	8	180° (8)	Cg/Cg	Early	BM 180° C 180° (2) HM 180° HW 180° P 180° (3)
<i>Mursley</i>					
120	2	180° (1) 270° (1)	Ba/Ba	1668	C 180° 270°
<i>Newport Pagnell</i>					
121	4	270° (4)	Ba/Ba	Late	BM 270° C 270° (2) CM 270°
122	8	180° (1) 270° (3) 360° (4)	Ba/Ba	1668	A 180° BM 360° C 270° (2) HW 270° P 360° (3)
123	2	360° (2)	C/Ch	Early	C 360° HW 360°
124	4	90° (4)	Ba/Ba	Late	A 90° BM 90° C 90° P 90°
125	1	360° (1)	B/Ba	1667	BM 360°
126	2	270° (2)	Bh/Bh	Late	C 270° P 270°
127	3	90° (3)	Ba/Ba	1667	A 90° BM 90° C 90°
128	0				
129	2	360° (2)	C/Ch	Early	F 360° P 360°
130	4	90° (1) 270° (2) 360° (1)	Ce/Ce	Early	BM 360° C 270° (2) P 90°
131	1	360° (1)	Cc/Cc	Early	C 360°
132	40	270° (40)	Bah/Bah	Late	A 270° (3) BM 270° C 270° (15) F 270° HM 270° (2) HW 270° (2) P 270° (16)

No.	No. exa- mined	Breakdown of die-axes	Borders	Date (R = Ramage)	Collections
133	4	180° (2) 360° (2)	Cg/Cg	Early (R)	BM 180° C 180° 360° P 360°
134	5	180° (1) 360° (4)	Ba/Ba	Late	A 360° BM 360° C 360° (2) P 180°
135	3	180° (1) 270° (2)	CHg/CHg	Early	BM 270° C 180° 270°
136	3	180° (1) 360° (2)	C/C	Early	C 360° (2) HW 180°
137	5	180° (3) 360° (2)	C/Ch	Early	BM 180° H 180° P 180° 360° (2)
<i>Newton Longville</i>					
138	9	90° (9)	Ba/Ba	1667	C 90° (2) HW 90° (2) P 90° (5)
<i>North Crawley</i>					
139	2	90° (1) 270° (1)	D/Da	Early	C 90° 270°
<i>Northall</i>					
140	0			1666	
141	5	180° (2) 360° (3)	Ba/Ba	1668	A 360° C 180° 360° P 180° 360°
<i>Olney</i>					
142	13	90° (3) 180° (3) 270° (2) 360° (5)	Ce/Ce	1662	A 360° BM 360° C 90° 360° HW 90° 360° P 90° 180° (3) 270° (2) 360°
143	1	360° (1)	B/B	1662	C 360°
144	19	90° (4) 180° (8) 270° (1) 360° (6)	B/Bc	1662	A 360° BM 180° C 90° 180° (3) 360° (2) HW 180° 270° 360° P 90° (3) 180° (3) 360° (2)
145	6	180° (4) 360° (2)	Ca/D	1658	BM 360° C 180° (2) HW 180° 360° O 180°
146	19	180° (1) 270° (4) 360° (14)	Ba/Ba	1668	A 270° BM 180° C 360° (3) F 360° HW 270° 360° O 360° (3) P 270° (2) 360° (6)
147	43	180° (43)	C/Cg	1652 (R)	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (7) F 180° (2) HW 180° (3) O 180° (2) P 180° (27)
148	6	180° (6)	C/Cg	1652	A 180° C 180° O 180° P 180° (3)
149	9	90° (6) 180° (3)	Ba/Ba	1668	C 90° 180° F 180° HW 90° (2) P 90° (3) 180°
<i>Princes Risborough</i>					
150	3	90° (1) 270° (2)	Da/D	Early	C 90° 270° HW 270°
151	9	180° (6) 270° (2) 360° (1)	Bg/Bg	1665	A 180° C 180° (2) HW 270° (2) P 180° (3) 360° (1)
152	6	90° (3) 180° (2) 270° (1)	Bg/Ba	1665	BM 90° C 90° F 90° P 180° (2) 270°
153	1	90° (1)	Bah/B	1669	A 90°
<i>Shenley</i>					
154	3	180° (2) 360° (1)	Ba/Ba	1670	A 180° C 180° 360°
<i>Sherington</i>					
155	2	90° (1) 180° (1)	Da/D	Early	C 180° P 90°
156	1	180° (1)	Ba/Ba	Late	C 180°
<i>Soulbury</i>					
157	1	90° (1)	CHg/CHg	Early	D 90°
<i>Steeple Claydon</i>					
158	5	360° (5)	Ba/Ba	1668	A 360° BM 360° C 360° (2) P 360°
<i>Stewkley</i>					
159	10	360° (10)	Ba/Ba	1667	A 360° BM 360° C 360° (2) HW 360° (2) P 360° (4)
<i>Stokenchurch</i>					
160	3	180° (1) 360° (2)	Ba/Ba	1669	A 180° P 360° WM 360°
<i>Stony Stratford</i>					
161	2	180° (2)	Cg/Cg	Early	BM 180° C 180°
162	8	180° (8)	Cg/Cg	Early	BM 180° C 180° (2) HW 180° (2) P 180° (3)

<i>No.</i>	<i>No. examined</i>	<i>Breakdown of die-axes</i>	<i>Borders</i>	<i>Date (R = Ramage)</i>	<i>Collections</i>
163	2	180° (2)	Ce/Ce	Early (R)	C 180° (2)
164	4	180° (4)	C/Cg	Early	C 180° (2) HW 180° P 180°
165	7	180° (1) 360° (6)	Dh/Dh	1657	BM 360° C 360° (2) O 360° P 180° 360° (2)
166	9	180° (4) 360° (5)	C/Cg	Early	A 180° BM 360° C 360° (2) HW 180° 360° P 180° (2) 360°
167	4	180° (4)	DHh/DHh	Early	A 180° C 180° HW 180° P 180°
168	4	90° (1) 180° (3)	C/Cg	Early	A 180° C 180° (2) P 90°
169	0				
170	14	90° (2) 180° (5) 360° (7)	Bg/Bg	1664	A 360° BM 180° C 180° (2) 360° (2) HW 90° 180° P 90° 180° 360° (4)
171	2	90° (1) 180° (1)	C/Cg	Early	C 180° HW 90°
172	10	180° (8) 360° (2)	C/Cg	Early (R)	A 180° BM 180° C 180° HM 360° HW 180° P 180° (4) 360°
173	12	90° (11) 270° (1)	Bc/Bc	1669	A 90° BM 90° C 90° (2) F 90° HW 90° 270° P 90° (5)
174	7	90° (4) 180° (1) 360° (2)	Ba/Ba	1668	BM 90° C 90° (2) P 90° 180° 360° (2)
175	2	90° (1) 360° (1)	C/Cg	Early (R)	C 90° P 360°
<i>Swanbourne</i>					
176	3	180° (3)	C/Cg	1652 (R)	C 180° (2) P 180°
<i>Thornborough</i>					
177	28	180° (18) 270° (10)	Ba/Ba	1668	A 180° (2) 270° BM 180° C 180° (2) 270° (4) F 180° (2) HM 180° HW 180° 270° P 180° (8) 270° (4) Y 180°
<i>Tingewick</i>					
178	13	180° (5) 360° (8)	Ba/Ba	1669	A 180° 360° BM 360° C 180° (2) 360° (2) HW 360° (2) P 180° (2) 360° (2)
179	2	360° (2)	Ba/Ba	1668	BM 360° C 360°
<i>Waddesdon</i>					
180	1	360° (1)	Ca/Ca	Early	C 360°
<i>Warrington</i>					
181	4	90° (4)	Ba/Ba	1668	BM 90° C 90° (2) P 90°
<i>Wendover</i>					
182	11	90° (1) 180° (4) 270° (1) 360° (5)	Bg/Bg	Late	A 180° BC 90° BM 180° C 360° (2) HW 180° 360° P 180° 270° 360° (2)
183	9	90° (1) 180° (3) 270° (5)	Dg/Da	1664	A 270° BM 270° C 90° 180° 270° HW 270° P 180° (2) 270°
184	0		Da/D	Early	
185	9	180° (4) 270° (1) 360° (4)	Ba/Ba	1668	BM 360° C 270° 360° HW 180° P 180° (3) 360° (2)
186	7	180° (6) 360° (1)	Cg/Cg	1655 (R)	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (2) P 180° (2) 360°
187	4	180° (1) 360° (3)	B/Ba	1664	C 360° (2) HW 180° P 360°
188	6	180° (6)	Cg/Cg	1656 (R)	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (2) HW 180° P 180°
<i>West Wycombe</i>					
189	7	90° (2) 180° (2) 360° (3)	Ba/Ba	1667	A 180° BM 360° C 90° 360° (2) HW 180° P 90°
<i>Winslow</i>					
190	5	180° (5)	CHe/CHe	Early	BM 180° C 180° (2) P 180° (2)
191	5	270° (5)	Bg/Bg	1666	A 270° C 270° (2) HW 270° P 270°
192	2	360° (2)	Ba/Ba	1666	P 360° (2)
193	9	180° (1) 360° (8)	Ba/Ba	1666	BM 360° C 180° 360° (3) L 360° P 360° (3)
194	6	180° (2) 360° (4)	Ba/Ba	1666	C 180° (2) HW 360° (2) P 360° (2)

No.	No. examined	Breakdown of die-axes	Borders	Date (R = Ramage)	Collections
195	10	180° (9) 360° (1)	Cg/Cg	Early (R)	A 180° BM 180° (2) C 180° (2) HW 180° (2) 360° P 180° (2)
196	10	90° (3) 180° (7)	Bg/Bg	1666	A 180° BM 90° C 90° 180° (2) P 90° 180° (4)
197	7	90° (2) 180° (5)	Ce/Ce	Early	A 90° C 180° (2) F 180° P 90° 180° (2)
198	5	90° (1) 180° (1) 270° (3)	Bg/Bg	Late	C 180° 270° HW 270° P 90° 270°
199	3	360° (3)	Ch/Ch	Early	C 360° (3)
200	5	180° (1) 270° (1) 360° (3)	Ba/CHh	Late	BM 270° C 360° F 360° HM 180° HW 360°
201	4	180° (1) 360° (3)	Da/Da	Early	C 360° (2) HW 180° 360°
202	6	180° (1) 270° (5)	Da/Da	1664	BM 270° C 180° 270° P 270° (3)
<i>Wooburn</i>					
203	2	270° (2)	Ba/Ba	1664	C 270° P 270°
204	4	360° (4)	Ba/Ba	Late	B 360° BM 360° C 360° P 360°
205	2	360° (2)	Ba/Ba	Late	P 360° (2)
<i>Woughton-on-the-Green</i>					
206	1	180° (1)	Cg/Cg	Early	C 180°
<i>Wycombe</i>					
207	14	90° (1) 270° (4) 360° (9)	Ba/Ba	1668	C 360° (2) HW 270° 360° P 90° 270° (3) 360° (6)
208	7	90° (1) 360° (6)	C/C	1661	A 360° BM 90° C 360° (2) HW 360° P 360° (2)
209	3	270° (3)	C/C	1661	BM 270° P 270° (2)
210	1	270° (1)	C/Ce	Early	C 270°
211	8	180° (3) 270° (3) 360° (2)	Ce/Ce	Early	BM 270° C 180° 360° HW 180° (2) P 270° (2) 360°
212	3	180° (1) 360° (2)	Ce/CHe	Early	C 180° 360° P 360°
213	6	90° (1) 180° (1) 270° (3) 360° (1)	Ce/Bg	Early	A 270° BM 270° C 90° 270° P 180° 360°
214	1	360° (1)	Ba/Ba	1668	BM 360°
215	6	180° (6)	Cg/Cg	1652 (R)	BM 180° C 180° (2) HW 180° (2) P 180°
216	2	180° (1) 360° (1)	Cg/Cg	Early (R)	C 360° P 180°
217	24	180° (19) 360° (5)	C/Cg	1652 (R)	A 360° BM 180° C 180° (5) 360° HM 180° HW 180° 360° P 180° (10)
218	5	180° (5)	Cg/Cg	Early (R)	A 180° C 180° (2) P 180° (2)
219	4	360° (4)	Ba/Ba	1668	A 360° C 360° (2) P 360°
220	7	90° (2) 180° (2) 360° (3)	Bg/Bg	1666	A 90° BM 180° 360° C 180° 360° (2) P 90°
221	9	180° (3) 360° (6)	Ba/Ba	1669	A 180° 360° BM 360° C 180° 360° HW 360° P 180° 360° (2)
222	19	180° (16) 360° (3)	D/De	1653 (R)	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (4) HW 180° (2) P 180° (8) 360° (3)
223	5	90° (1) 180° (1) 270° (1) 360° (2)	D/Cg	1653 (R)	BM 360° C 90° 180° P 270° 360°
224	8	90° (2) 270° (2) 360° (4)	C/Ca	1653	A 90° C 360° (2) HW 360° (2) P 90° 270° (2)
225	18	90° (1) 180° (11) 360° (6)	Ba/Ba	1670	A 180° 360° BM 360° (2) C 180° (3) 360° HW 180° 360° P 180° (6) 360° W 90°
226	2	360° (2)	Ba/Ba	1666	C 360° (2)
227	8	90° (1) 180° (2) 270° (5)	Ba/Ba	1666	A 180° BM 90° C 270° (2) HM 180° HW 270° (2) P 270°
228	4	180° (2) 360° (2)	Ba/Ba	1668	C 180° (2) P 360° (2)
229	5	90° (1) 180° (1) 270° (3)	Ce/Ce	1662	A 270° C 90° 270° HW 180° 170°
230	7	270° (1) 360° (6)	Bh/Bh	1667	A 360° BM 360° C 360° (2) HW 270° 360° P 360°
231	1	180° (1)	CHc/CHe	Early	C 180°
232	1	90° (1)	Bg/Bg	1666	HW 90°



No.	No. examined	Breakdown of die-axes	Borders	Date (R = Ramage)	Collections
233	3	90° (3)	Ce/Ce	Early	C 90° (2) P 90°
234	20	180° (6) 270° (5) 360° (9)	C/Cg	Early (R)	A 360° BM 360° C 180° (3) 360° (3) F 180° HM 360° HW 270° (2) P 180° (2) 270° (3) 360° (3)
235	8	180° (8)	Ba/Ba	1666	A 180° BM 180° C 180° (3) HW 180° (2) P 180°

## BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF THE ISSUERS

Name	Date of token	Trade	Name of spouse(s)	Born	Died (W = left will)
<i>Amersham</i>					
Andrew Barowes, A.B.	1652/ 1665	Clothworker			1685
John Cocke, I.M.C.	1666		Mary Snell (1665)		
Francis Lane, F.G.L.					
Elizabeth Rutt, E.R.	1668	Weaver	William Rutt (d. 1663, W)		1702 W
William Statham, W.B.S.	1653	Lace buyer	1. B 2. Mary		1686 W
Richard Webb, R.S.W.	1666	Tobacconist		1631	1714 W
<i>Aylesbury</i>					
Joseph Bell, I.H.B.	1659	Mercer	1. Margaret Baines (1658, d. 1659) 2. Hannah Dover (1659, d. 1664)	1629	1692
William Burges	1670	Coffee-house proprietor (The Turk's Head)	widow (d. 1688)		1680
Richard Butler, R.S.B.	1666	Innkeeper (The Crown)	Susannah (d. 1697, W)		1691 W
Gyles Childe, G.D.C.		Mercer	1. Ellen Gauderne (1631, d. 1636) 2. Dorothy		1661
Edward Cope, E.D.C.		Draper	Dorothy (d. 1674)		
Stephen Dagnall, S.I.D.	1656	B Stationer	1. Eleanor Palmer (1643, d. 1646) 2. Joan Webley (1647)		1684 W
William Dawney, W.E.D.	1657	Ch Innkeeper (King's Head)	Elizabeth Horwood (1637, d. 1692, W)	1613	1685
John Dossett, I.I.D.	1670	Brewer	Joan (d. 1682)		1676
Joseph Freer, I.M.F.	1652	B Grocer	Mary (d. 1660)	1625	
John Hill	1665	Tallow chandler	Mary (d. 1680)		1683
Thomas Hill, T.R.H.		B Mercer and Draper			1676
Joseph Saxton, I.S.				1629	1667
Thomas Stratford, T.M.S.	1667		Martha Oviatts (1665)		1699
Alexander Trott, A.A.T.	1669	Grocer			1678
William Welch, W.I.W.		B Grocer and Tallow chandler	1. Ann Church (1653) 2. Joan Michael (1657)		1703 W
Francis Wethered, F.W.	1660	Draper	Anne Brox (1642, d. 1673)		
<i>Beaconsfield</i>					
Thomas Cocke, T.I.C.		Carpenter	Jane (d. 1717, W)		1706 W
Thomas Cocke, T.K.C.		Ch Carpenter	Katherine Pennell (1655, d. 1690)		1682
John Foscet	1669				

TOKENS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

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<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of token</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Name of spouse(s)</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Died (W = left will)</i>
Joseph Grimsdale, I.M.G.	1658		Mary (d. 1692)		1711
Henry Tripp, H.A.T.	1668	Tallow chandler			
William Willis, W.F.W.	1668	Innkeeper (The Bull)	Frances		
<i>Brill</i>					
Thomas Cater, T.E.C.	1671	Ch	1. Hester Hicks (1663) 2. E	1636	1696
William Clark, W.E.C.	1669	Mercer			
William Goldar, W.A.G.		Ch Mercer	Agnes Aldinge (1628)		1672
J H , I.H.		Innkeeper (The Half Moon)			
Elizabeth Scarlett, E.S.	1669	Grocer	1. John Scarlett (d. 1664) 2. Thomas Carter Junior (1672)		
<i>Broughton</i>					
John Wilson, I.W.					
<i>Buckingham</i>					
William Atton, W.E.A.	1663	M Draper		1627	
Elizabeth Crawley	1668		Thomas Crawley (d. 1665)		1683
John Hartley, I.H.	1650/1660	Mercer and Draper	Elizabeth Grove (1626)	1605	1679
John Hartley Junior, I.H.	1665	Mercer and Draper	Mary Burghes (1656)	1627	1667 W
John Kew	1668	Ch		1623	
John Rennals, I.E.R.	1668	B Lace buyer	1. Elizabeth Goodman (1653, d. 1654) 2. Elitia		
Peter Reynolds, P.F.R.	1658	Ch Lace buyer	Frances Woodcocke (1637)		1671
George Robins, G.R.		M Mercer		1635	
<i>Chalfont St. Peter</i>					
John Bennitt, I.O.B.	1668	Inkeeper (The Greyhound)	1. Susanna Butterfield (1630) 2. O	1602	1675 W
Jarvice Good, I.M.G.		Ch Innkeeper (The Greyhound)		1626	1673
Edward White	1664	Innkeeper (The Bell)			
<i>Chesham</i>					
Richard Amond, R.D.A.	1664	Clothworker		1609	
William Childe, W.M.C.		B Brewer	1. 2. Martha Birch (1654)		1676 W
Rise Davis, R.E.D.	1671				
Abraham Garraway, A.M.G.	1671	Tobacconist	1. M 2. Anne		1705 W
William Grome, W.S.G.	1671	Clothworker	Susan (d. 1687)		1690 W
John Grover, I.I.G.	1655	Ch Tailor	Jane Hopper (1655)		1696
Thomas Hall		Ch Mercer and Draper	Mary	1611	1686 W
James Joyse, I.M.I.	1658		1. Anne 2. Mary (d. 1675)	1616	
Thomas Slauter, T.M.S.	1669	Cordwainer	Mary	1625	
Samuel Trecher, S.G.T./S.I.T.	1653/1665	B Mercer and Draper	1. G 2. Jane (d. 1682)		1687 W
John Tyler, I.A.T.	1665	Mercer	Amy	1621	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of token</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Name of spouse(s)</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Died (W = left will)</i>
Richard Ware, R.P.W.	1653	<i>B</i>	Philotheta Hardinge (1632)	1608	
Samuell Ware, S.S.W.	1658	<i>B</i>	1. S 2. Greas Downes (1665)	1628	1695
<i>Colnbrook</i>					
Thomas Burcombe, T.D.B.		<i>Ch</i> Innkeeper (The White Hart)	Dorothy (d. 1675)		
John Forise, I.S.F.	1667	Innkeeper (The Bear)			1674
Alice Goad	1669	Innkeeper (The Bell)	William Goade (d. 1658)		1676 <i>W</i>
John Guy, I.B.G.	1652	Chandler	Beatrice (d. 1662, <i>W</i> )		1654 <i>W</i>
Susan Homes, S.H.		Innkeeper (The Ball)			1682 <i>W</i>
John Hosey, I.I.H.		Innkeeper (The Angel)	Joan (d. 1668)		1666 <i>W</i>
Samuell Mills, S.M.M.	1657	Innkeeper (The Ostrich)	1. Margaret (d. 1662) 2. Alice		1672 <i>W</i>
Edmund Slocombe, E.D.S.	1653	<i>Ch</i> <i>Mercer</i>	1. first wife (d. 1635) 2. Dorothy (d. 1670, <i>W</i> )	1600	1658 <i>W</i>
<i>Edlesborough</i>					
Daniell Finch, D.S.F.	1666	<i>Grocer</i>	1. Susan (d. 1666) 2. Sarah		1692 <i>W</i>
<i>Emberton</i>					
John Peirceson	1668		Mary (d. 1676)		
Anthony Scaldwell, A.A.S.	1664		Anne (d. 1686)		
<i>Eton</i>					
Thomas Collings	1669				
Richard Robinson, R.A.R.	1666	<i>B</i> Pipe maker			
<i>Fenny Stratford</i>					
Robert Honnor, R.L.H.	1655/ 1667	<i>Grocer</i>	Lucy (d. 1671)		1678 <i>W</i>
William Inns, W.A.I.	1651	<i>Ch</i> <i>Grocer</i>	Alice (d. 1670)		1683
John Smalbons, I.E.S.	1656	Feltmaker	Elizabeth (d. 1658)		
<i>Great Horwood</i>					
John Carter	1668	<i>Carrier</i>		1617	1676 <i>W</i>
Henry Feilden	1668				
Francis Woodcock, F.E.W./F.F.W.		Haberdasher	1. Eliz Watts (1645) 2. F 3. Jane	1624	1683 <i>W</i>
<i>Haddenham</i>					
John Morfield, I.M.		<i>Carrier</i>			
<i>Hambleton</i>					
John Lane, I.M.L.	1669	Blacksmith	Mary Pearce (1664)		
<i>Horton</i>					
George Goad, G.M.G.	1669	<i>Ch</i>	Mary		1684
<i>Hughendon</i>					
Francis Barnaby, F.A.B.		<i>Ch</i> <i>Grocer</i>	Alice Ledringham (1617)		1683 <i>W</i>
<i>Iver</i>					
Nicholas Mervin, N.E.M.		<i>Baker</i>	Elizabeth		1706 <i>W</i>

TOKENS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

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<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of token</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Name of spouse(s)</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Died (W = left will)</i>
<i>Ivinghoe</i>					
Robert Barnes, R.S.B.	1667	Mercer	Sarah Wooster (1657)		
Henry Butler		Baker	Ann Harding (1664)		
John Tomes, I.S.T.		Mercer			
<i>Lavendon</i>					
Edmund Baltswell, E.A.B.		Ch Baker	Alice (1649)		
<i>Leckhamstead</i>					
Abraham Taylor	1669	Innkeeper (The Cock)			
<i>Little Brickhill</i>					
Charles Lord	1669	Tallow chand- ler			
<i>Little Horwood</i>					
Hugh Willeatt, H.A.W.			Ann	1678	
<i>Marlow</i>					
Alice Boules, A.B. ( <i>née</i> Parker)	1669	Innkeeper (The Queen)		1693	
Stephen Harris, S.D.H.			1. Dorothy (d. 1671) 2. Martha Johana		
Thomas Lane, T.L.	1666	Q Baker		1644	
Alice Parker, A.P.		Innkeeper (The Queen)			1693
Peter Rivers, P.A.R.	1667		Amy (d. 1699)		
Thomas Smith, T.I.S.		Gunsmith	Joan (d. 1663)	1605	1662 W
Silvester Widmere, S.K.W.		Mercer	Katherine	1621	1663 W
<i>Mursley</i>					
Henry Pitkin	1668	Silk weaver	1. Joane (1663) 2. Mary	1642	1711 W
<i>Newport Pagnell</i>					
William Breden, W.E.B.	1668		Elizabeth Barnes (1656, d. 1672)	1636	
John Burgis, I.S.B.		Lace buyer	Sarah		1682 W
Josias Chapman, I.C.			Jane Watts (1630)	1606	1658 W
John Child, I.R.C.	1667	Ch Tobacconist			1667
Edward Cooper, E.C./ E.E.C.	1667	Q Grocer	Elizabeth		1702 W
James Davis, I.E.D.		Skinner	Elizabeth Burfoote (1635, d. 1669, W)		1666 W
John Davis, I.I.D.		Q Draper	1. Joan Comendale (1655) 2. Martha Cowley (1667)	1638	1705 W
Rob. Hooton, R.E.H.			Elizabeth King (1655, d. 1682)		1677
Samuell Lambert			Mary	1639	
John Norman, I.E.N./I.N.		Grocer	1. Anne Humphrey (1632, d. 1633) 2. Elizabeth (d. 1669)	1611	1682
Thomas Perrott, T.E.P.			Elizabeth (d. 1678)	1625	1678
W S, W.F.S.					
John Thornton, I.E.T.		Q Merchant of small wares	1. Elizabeth (d. 1662) 2. Susanna Arnott (1664, d. 1691)		1680 W
<i>Newton Longville</i>					
Jeffery Willison, I.I.W.	1667	Q Tobacconist	Joan (d. 1710)	1641	1722 W

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of token</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Name of spouse(s)</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Died (W = left will)</i>
<i>North Crawley</i>					
Nicholas Steele, N.M.S.		Q	Mary		
<i>Northall</i>					
William Ashby, W.A.A.	1666/1668	Q Lace buyer	Avis Sayle (1635)		
<i>Olney</i>					
John Amps, I.R.A.	1662		Rose		
Robert Aspray, R.M.A.	1662	Ropemaker	Mary (d. 1720, W)		1694
James Brierly, I.M.B.	1658	Q Lace buyer			1670
Moses Freeman, M.E.F.	1668	Bonelace merchant	Elizabeth (d. 1707)		1673 W
John Gaynes, I.S.G.	1652	Mercer, Baker, and Draper	1. Sarah (d. 1671) 2. Elizabeth (d. 1689)		1694
Joseph Scrivener, I.E.S.	1668	Q Grocer	Elizabeth (d. 1715)		
<i>Princes Risborough</i>					
Edward Barnaby, E.W.B.	1665	Grocer			
Thomas Headeach, T.E.H.	1669	B Grocer		1636	
<i>Shenley</i>					
Joseph Inns, I.E.I.	1670		Elizabeth Daniel (d. 1687)	1643	
<i>Sherington</i>					
Edward Britnell, E.A.B.			Alice		1680 W
<i>Soulbury</i>					
John Neale, I.F.N.			Frances (d. 1699)		1696
<i>Steeple Claydon</i>					
William Norman, W.I.N.	1668	B Grocer	Jane		1700 W
<i>Stewkley</i>					
Thomas Coles	1667	Q Grocer and Tallow chandler	1. Anne 2. Christina	1608	1689 W
<i>Stokenchurch</i>					
George Cubbidge, G.A.C.	1669	Mercer and Tallow chandler	Alice		
<i>Stony Stratford</i>					
Francis Anderton, F.A.		Grocer			
Robert Anderton, R.M.A.		Mercer	Mary (d. 1675)		
Hugh Blatso, H.M.B.		Draper	1. Mary (d. 1654) 2. Elliner Clark (1655, d. 1664)		
John Botrill, I.A.B.		Ch Cordwainer	Anne		
Thomas Burges, T.A.B.	1657	Q Baker and Grocer	Anne Greene (1627)		1696 W
Christopher Clifton, C.I.C.		Ch Pewterer	wife (d. 1678)		1686
Mathew Finall, M.F.F.		Painter	1. Jan (d. 1646) 2. F	1616	1669
Thomas Forfeit, T.A.F.		Lace buyer	Ann Gray (1654)		1684 W
John Gomford					
Henry Honnor	1664		Mary (d. 1687)		1692
William Marshall, W.M.M.		Innkeeper (The Lion)			1672



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<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of token</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Name of spouse(s)</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Died (W = left will)</i>
Francis Penn, F.P.		Mercer	Grace Hursles (1657, d. 1667)		
John Penn, I.M.P.	1669	Tanner			
William Smith, W.E.S.	1668				
Richard Veasey, R.E.V.		Innkeeper (The Lion)			1680
<i>Swanbourne</i>					
John Bavin, I.B.	1652	Tallow chand- ler	Mary	1600	
<i>Thornborough</i>					
Edward Purssell, E.P.	1668	M		1644	
<i>Tingewick</i>					
George Drury, G.M.D.	1669	Mercer			
John Durrant	1668	Maltster	Mary		1707 W
<i>Waddesdon</i>					
Richard Sutherrey, R.M.S.		Carrier	Mary (d. 1689, W)		1674 W
<i>Warrington</i>					
Thomas Norris, T.M.N.	1668		Mary Lawton (1663)		
<i>Wendover</i>					
George Brown, G.A.B.		Chapman	Anne (d. 1694)		1702
John Duncombe, I.E.D.	1664	Feltmaker	Elizabeth (d. 1702)		1670 W
John Fosscet, I.M.F.					
Francis Funge, F.E.F.	1668		Elizabeth (d. 1687)		
Ralph Hill, R.E.H.	1655	Grocer	Elizabeth (d. 1694)	1633	1694
Gabriell Prentice, G.A.P.	1664	Grocer	Amy (d. 1695)		
Thomas Stokins, T.P.S.	1656				
<i>West Wycombe</i>					
Thomas Leech, T.A.L.	1667	Ch	1. A 2. Phyllis		1696
<i>Winslow</i>					
Matthew Bishop, M.D.B.	1666		Deborah Shrimpton (1649, d. 1688)		1689
John Crawley	1666	Tobacconist		1644	
John Dimock	1666	Tobacconist	Jane Townsend (1671)		
John Forrest, I.M.F.	1666	Baker			
William Giles, W.M.G.	1666	B	Mary Muncke (1653)		1713
Thomas Godwin, T.I.G.		Ch	1. J 2. Maria		
Daniel Sayer, D.S.		Grocer			
Thomas Smallbones, T.A.S.		Feltmaker	Anne Reeves (1648, d. 1699)		
John Watts, I.K.W.	1664		Katherine Lipscombe		1692
<i>Wooburn</i>					
Robert Drew, R.A.D.	1664		Anne (d. 1677)		1680
Jonathan Kingham, I.K.		Q Paper miller	Anne		1676 W
<i>Woughton-on-the-Green</i>					
William Coale, W.E.C.		Grocer	Elizabeth (d. 1717)		1699
<i>Wycombe</i>					
Thomas Atkines, T.E.A.	1668	Butcher	1. E 2. Anne (d. 1676)		
Thomas Bates, T.B.	1661	Lace buyer	widow (d. 1676)		1670 W

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of token</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Name of spouse(s)</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Died (W = left will)</i>
Samuell Boudrey, S.I.B.		Innkeeper (The King's Head)	1. Jane Grarell (1644) 2. Joane Grimsdale (1665)		
Thomas Butterfield, T.B.		Innkeeper (The Wheatsheaf)			
Thomas Dimarsh, T.A.D.	1668	Grocer and Draper			
William Fisher, W.A.F.	1652	<i>Ch</i> , Clothworker <i>M</i>	1. Anna Gray (1635) 2. Sarah King ( <i>née</i> Harding, d. 1661, <i>W</i> )	1659	<i>W</i>
Robert Frier, R.F.		Innkeeper (The Rose)	Elizabeth Turner (1633)		
Jeremiah Gray, I.M.G.	1652	Innkeeper (The Swan)	Martha Tomb (1646, d. 1664)	1664	<i>W</i>
John Harding, I.M.H.			Margeritt Blacknell (1656)	1668	
Thomas Harding, T.E.H.	1668	<i>B</i> Grocer	Elizabeth	1674	<i>W</i>
Francis Ingeby, F.I.	1666	<i>Ch</i> Lace buyer	Dorothea Weedon (1666, d. 1719, <i>W</i> )		
John Juson, I.M.I.	1669	Innkeeper (The Chequers)	Mary Littell (1666)	1691	<i>W</i>
Richard Lucas, R.D.L.	1653/ 1670	<i>M</i> Innkeeper (The Red Lion)		1675	<i>W</i>
John Morris, I.M.	1666	Tallow chandler	1. Mary Robeson (1652) 2. Dorothy Elliott (1662)	1695	
Alexander Parnam, A.K.P.	1668	<i>M</i> Innkeeper (The Greyhound)	Katherine Noble (1639)	1679	
Richard Preist, R.E.P.	1662		Elizabeth		
John Rowell, I.M.R.	1667	Carpenter			
Thomas Taylor, T.E.T.		<i>B</i> Lace buyer	Elizabeth Harding (1654)	1671	
Robert Watson, R.M.W.	1666	(Coffee-house proprietor)(?) (The Saracen's Head)	1. Mary Joanes (1661) 2. Elizabeth Big (1670)		
Thomas Wheatly, T.S.W.					
Robert Whitton, R.K.W.		<i>M</i> Innkeeper (The Antelope)	Katharine Bradshaw (1656, d. 1718, <i>W</i> )	1711	<i>W</i>
Edward Winch, E.P.W.	1666	Tanner	1. Penelope 2. Jane	1707	

*Note.* *B* = Baptist. *Q* = Quaker. *Ch* = served a period as Churchwarden. *M* = became Mayor. Trades given in *italics* are not discernible from the tokens themselves.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writers would like to convey their thanks to all those who have offered advice and information for this paper, including making collections available for study. We would particularly like to thank Mr. E. J. Davis, Buckinghamshire County Archivist, and Mr. C. N. Gowing, Curator, Aylesbury Museum, and their staffs; also Messrs. F. E. Baker, D. Chipperfield, G. Dawson, A. Fleming, D. J. Gaunt, E. G. H. Kempson, L. J. Mayes, J. Neufville-Taylor, E. C. Rouse, P. J. Seaby, R. H. Thompson, F. M. Underhill, J. L. Wetton, Sir Frank Markham, and Mrs. J. Durley for their encouragement, as well as the staffs of museums whose collections are mentioned.

## THE PLATES

The majority of the specimens featured on Plates 3 and 4 are from the collection in the County Museum, Aylesbury. Exceptions are nos. 14, 153, and 154 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); nos. 125, 137, 209, and 214 (British Museum); nos. 35 and 200 (Hunter Coin Cabinet, Glasgow); no. 98 (Hampshire County Museum, Winchester); no. 157 (Devizes Museum); and nos. 54, 116, 160, and 205 (F. E. Baker, Esq.). No. 129 is in the possession of one of the authors of this paper (P.M.). The coins are numbered on the plates in accordance with their numbering in the preceding catalogue.

## POSTSCRIPT

In December 1975, Mr. S. H. Monks kindly drew the attention of the authors to a previously unpublished halfpenny token from Waddesdon, in the possession of Mr. G. Swindells. The token, mentioned briefly in Messrs. Coins & Antiquities List No. 52, can be described as follows:

179a ✿ HENRY • AND • ELIZABETH  
THEIR  
HALF  
PENY

✿ BATTEYSON • AT • THE • BELL  
IN  
WADS  
DON  
?

*(uncertain punctuation)*

Die-axis 360°. Borders, Ba/Ba (late style).

The issuers kept 'The Bell', a hostelry which still stands next to the church on the A41 trunk road. The parish register records the baptisms and burials of some of the Batterson's children, and also notes that Henry Batterson was buried on 16 January 1680 (O.S.). He was outlived by his parents, Henry (d. 1682) and Anne (d. 1689), his brother Michael (d. 1696) and his wife Elizabeth. A memorial relating to the family can be seen on the south chancel wall of the church.

# INDICTMENTS FOR THE COINING OF TOKENS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WILTSHIRE

E. G. H. KEMPSON

THROUGHOUT a period of nearly twenty-five years following the execution of Charles I the possibility of coining small change had an uneasy existence. During the reigns of James I and Charles I royal monopolies had been granted to Harington and his successors to produce farthings for necessary change. With the absence of a royal monarch no one knew what the position was. It was no longer a question of infringing the royal

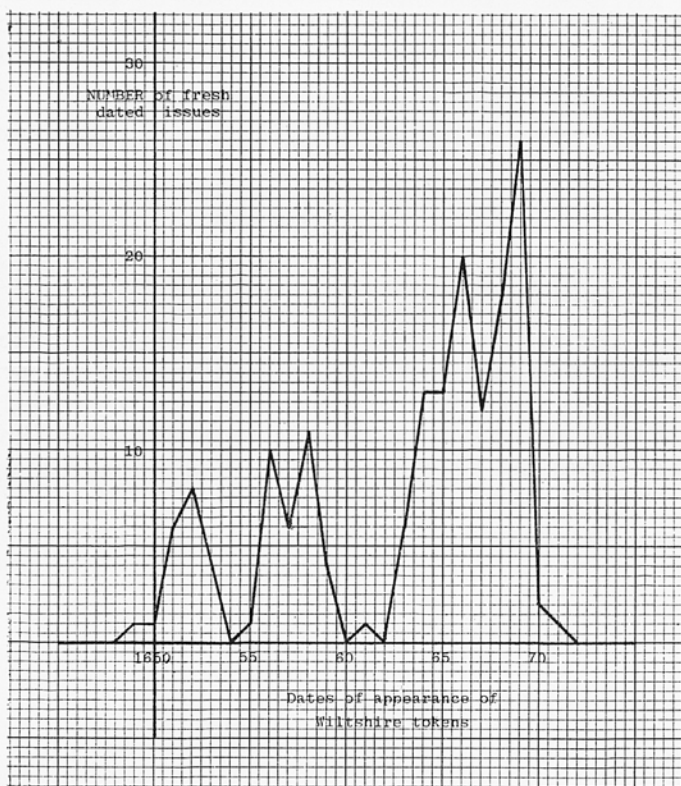


FIG. 1

prerogative; and almost immediately traders took the opportunity of issuing their own small change. The first in Wiltshire was John Gage of Bradford-on-Avon in 1649. By 1653 some twenty more had followed suit. A two-year break then followed, perhaps because of the appointment in December 1653 of Cromwell as Protector, but when it was clear that no official action was being taken, issues again started: some thirty more by the time of the Restoration.

With the return of Charles II the flow stopped, at any rate until 1662. Various proposals were soon put forward for obtaining the monopoly of issuing farthings. Of these, two seemed at one time to be looked on with favour, though neither was carried to a conclusion. The first was advanced by Sir Edward Ford as early as 1663, as a means of subsidizing the King's Fisheries.<sup>1</sup> The second, made in 1668, had the powerful backing of Prince Rupert, together with that of Lord Henry Howard.<sup>2</sup> Howard's father, as Lord Maltravers, by 1634 had inherited the patent from his aunt, the Duchess of Lennox and Richmond. Maltravers, as his son said, had lost the lease of the farthing office for his loyalty.

Meanwhile in May 1666<sup>3</sup> the Privy Council took note of 'the Common Practice of very many Retayling Tradesmen in and about the City of London . . . to make or coyne or cause to be made or coyned their owne farthings or halfe pence of what Mettall soever (silver onely excepted) and give them in exchange for his Majesties lawfull coyne of silver'. . . . It was directed that the Attorney General should 'consider the Lawes of this Nation, and cause due prosecution of the penalties upon breach of the same'.

The 'evill Practizes' continued, however; so that on 16 December 1668<sup>4</sup> John Garill was ordered 'to attend his Majesties Attorney General with informations and evidences against those found guilty in coining or venting any unlawfull coynes'. A further order was made on 19 August 1670<sup>5</sup> reiterating the previous order to Garill and asserting that special attention should be paid to Corporations.

Now Garill was well aware that he was in a strong position. He had been commissioned by the Privy Council to provide evidence for prosecutions by the Attorney General. The Council however were not willing to take extreme steps: they prohibited compounding and granted pardons wholesale on an apology and promise to offend no more.<sup>6</sup> So Garill made a petition to the king 'that in any grant of general pardon an exception may be made of offenders for coining, stamping and vending farthings, half-pence and pence; and that they be not pardoned without paying the charges of prosecution; otherwise he will lose many thousand pounds, which, by order of Council, he has spent thereon'. Moreover Garill prepared blank receipts for sums in discharge of the charge of prosecution: thus all offenders in Cambridgeshire had to appear on a certain date at the Mitre in Cambridge and make their composition with the prosecutor, or else be prosecuted according to the law.<sup>7</sup> Sir John Craig rightly describes Garill's proceedings 'as little short of blackmail'. He adds that pardons were extended to the shopkeepers of London, Southwark, and Westminster.

The purpose of this note is to show what steps were taken against private persons in the single county of Wiltshire.

Action was first taken<sup>8</sup> in July 1670, when two men from the small borough of Great Bedwyn, John Bushell and Thomas Greene, were indicted for their farthings. In January 1671 further prosecutions followed against John Venables of East Harnham, Philip

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews, 6 Nov. 1663 and note, 13 Sept. 1664, 3 Dec. 1664; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1666-7*, 439 undated & 1668-9, 137 undated.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1667-8*, 278; 1668-9, 575, 585.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C. 2/59*, pp. 24-5; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1665-6*, 27 July 1666.

<sup>4</sup> *P.C. 2/61*, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> *P.C. 2/62*, p. 264.

<sup>6</sup> Sir John Craig, *The Mint: A history of the London mint*, p. 173 (1953).

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1672*, p. 519, 23 Aug. 1672.

<sup>8</sup> Attention was first drawn to some of these cases in the *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, i. 150, 151 published in 1901 for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which includes the Records of Wiltshire Quarter Sessions.



Rooke of Downton, and William Newman of Wilton for their halfpennies; and later in the same year against Simon Rolfe of Salisbury, presumably for his 1669 halfpennies, and against John Slade and William Butcher of Warminster and Francis Patient of Westbury for their farthings. All of them were informed against by one Edward Brunsdon.

It may be useful to give a more detailed account of the actual proceedings, so that comparison with the possible practice in other counties may be made. In Wiltshire a standard form of indictment was used, with blanks to be filled in. Its features may be seen from the following translation of one such indictment:

The jury on behalf of our lord the King on oath present that *Francis Patient of Westbury* in the County of Wilts., assuming for himself royal prerogative and authority and devising and intending falsely, illegally and deceitfully to deceive and defraud the said King and the whole of his people, between *the 1st of June 1671* and the date of the holding of this Inquisition, by armed force etc.,<sup>1</sup> did within *the borough of Westbury* without any legal warrant or authority, illegally, unjustly and for the sake of unfair gain, manufacture, strike and impress and cause to be manufactured, struck and impressed with certain letters and other signs and devices hitherto unknown to the said Jury *four* pieces of brass and copper with the intention of uttering and putting into circulation (*exponere*) these pieces and any of them as change in payments in ordinary business with the subjects of the said King, to act both in name and (value) as *the quarter* of a penny, known in English as *farthings*. Moreover *Francis Patient* thereafter within the time aforesaid did utter and put into circulation these pieces to divers persons hitherto unknown to the Jury in the parish of *Westbury* and elsewhere in the county of Wilts., well knowing then and there that the value of *four* of these pieces was no more than *one halfpenny*, to the great deception, detriment, prejudice, and fraud of our lord the King that now is and of all his liege subjects, in contempt of our lord the King and his laws, and providing an evil and vicious example for all others in like case and against the peace as well of our lord the King as of his Crown and dignity.

Each indictment appeared on a separate piece of parchment. A reference number was given to it; and there was later added an annotation giving the judgement of the court. Here, for the reader's convenience, the date of issue is also given, together with Williamson's numbering (BW), where available.

TRINITY Q.S. held at Warminster, Tues. 5 July 1670

No. 10. *John Bushell* mercer of Great Bedwyn indicted for striking farthings, worth not more than 16d. for one hundred, between 30 June 1670 and the date of the holding of this inquisition.

At the following Michaelmas Q.S. (at Marlborough) Bushell pleaded guilty, but the fine was respited. His farthing = BW 82, dated 1669.

No. 11. *Thomas Greene* baker of Great Bedwyn indicted, as Bushell.

At the following Michaelmas Q.S. (at Marlborough) Greene pleaded guilty, but the fine was respited. His farthing is not in BW, but there is one of 1669 in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

EASTER Q.S. held at Devizes, 2 May 1671

No. 22. This same *Thomas Greene* husbandman was additionally indicted for setting up and exercising the art, mystery or manual occupation of a baker, for a month or more following 1 Mar. 1670/1, not having served 7 years as an apprentice according to the Statute of Artificers (12 Jan. Eliz. 5°).

At Michaelmas Q.S. 3 Oct. 1671 he pleaded guilty; at Hilary Q.S. 9 Jan. 1671/2 he defaulted, as a carpenter; but was ordered to appear at Easter Q.S. 1672 (1671 given in error) and was found not guilty.

Information on this charge was given by Robert and Edward Hawkins, both of whom had young families at Great Bedwyn in the early seventies.

<sup>1</sup> This phrase 'vi et armis' was obligatory in a case of felony until the sixteenth century. Thereafter it was, as here, often meaninglessly inserted.

## HILARY Q.S. held at New Sarum, 10 Jan. 1670/1

No. 8. *William Newman* weaver of Wilton indicted for striking four halfpennies worth not more than one penny, between 1 Aug. 1668 and the date of the holding of this inquisition.

At Trin. Q.S. he appeared with licence to defend himself at the next Hilary Q.S. (at New Sarum); he then pleaded guilty and paid the fine of 3s. 4d. to the sheriff in Court. His halfpenny = BW Norfolk 280 (wrongly placed), dated 1667.

No. 9. *John Venables* weaver of East Harnham in the parish of Britford indicted, as Newman.

At Trin. Q.S. he pleaded guilty and paid the fine of 6s. 8d. to the sheriff in Court. His halfpenny = BW 83, dated 1668.

No. 10. *Philip Rooke* grocer of Downton, indictment and fine as Venables, but between 1 Aug. 1669 and the present inquisition. His halfpenny = BW 81, dated 1670.

## TRINITY Q.S. held at Warminster, 4 July 1671

No. 13. *Simon Rolfe* clothier of New Sarum indicted for striking halfpennies at Fisherton Anger, four of which were only worth 1d., between 1 June 1671 and the date of the holding of this inquisition.

He appeared at the Hil. Q.S. 1671/2, pleaded guilty but was exonerated by the Court. His halfpenny = BW 222 and 222a, dated 1666 and 1669.

No. 14. *John Slade* mercer of Warminster indicted for striking farthings, four of which were only worth  $\frac{1}{2}$ d., between 1 Mar. 1670/1 and the date of the holding of this inquisition.

He appeared and was exonerated (Minute Bk. 1671/7, no. 48). His farthing = BW 258, 1667.

No. 15. *Francis Patient* (chandler, Easter Q.S. 1670, no. 23) of Westbury indicted for striking farthings as Slade, but between 1 June 1671 and the date of the holding of this inquisition.

At Hil. Q.S. 1671/2 (at New Sarum) he pleaded guilty and was fined 3s. 4d. which he paid to the sheriff in Court. According to the Minute Bk. this had taken place at the Mich. Q.S. 3 Oct. 1671 (at Marlborough). His farthing = BW 264, dated 1668.

No. 16. *William Butcher* of Warminster indicted, as Slade.

He appeared at Hilary Q.S. 1671/2 (at New Sarum), had leave to defend himself and was pardoned at Easter 1673. His farthing is not in BW, but there is a specimen in the Devizes Museum, dated 1669.

In passing, it may be noted that the halfpennies of Rolfe (1666 issue) and of Venables are found both in brass and in copper.

What then was it that led to the indictment of these particular individuals? Were they merely the latest issuers? Were their coins too light? Or was there some special feature in the situation?

Let us take these questions in order. Certainly the issues condemned were among the latest. After a long interval of time it would have been difficult to obtain proof of both manufacture and of circulation. Exceptionally there were three Wiltshire coins of the period 1670–2 which escaped indictment. They were William Courtney's 1670 farthing and the 1671 reissue of Edward Penny's halfpenny, both from Salisbury, and John Hackman's 1671 halfpenny from Chippenham. So this consideration at least holds good.

As for defect in weight, we are confronted with a much more difficult problem. Coins lose their weight by fair wear and tear and perhaps have lain in the ground for many years; nor is it clear what is a fair standard to expect. Additionally only a small sample of the coins is available. However, the figures for worn specimens shown below may throw some light on the problem. Comparable weights of a few municipal farthings are given, as well as notional weights of the 1672 regal farthings and halfpennies. The number of specimens of the indicted coins is given in brackets.

<i>Farthings</i>	<i>Grains</i>	
Bushell (3)	11-20	Fine respited
Greene (1)	14	Fine respited
Slade (3)	11-15	Exonerated
Patient (3)	8-9	Fine 3s. 4d.
Wm. Butcher (2)	8	Pardoned
Bristol	c. 45	
Gloucester	c. 41	
Marlborough 1668-	22-8	
Salisbury 1659-	21-7	
Newbury 1657-	c. 11	
regal issue 1672	c. 90	
<i>Halfpennies</i>		
Rolfe, 1666 issue (5)	22-35	Exonerated
Rooke (5)	25-9	Fine 6s. 8d.
Venables (4)	17-24	Fine 6s. 8d.
Newman (2)	8-13	Fine 3s. 4d.
Courtney (2)	27-30	Not indicted
Penny, 1671 issue	17	Not indicted
Hackman	21	Not indicted
regal issue 1672	c. 170	

Some of these, notably Newman's halfpenny, are defective in weight on any count; but there is not enough evidence to draw firm conclusions about the standards required.

Another special feature is more suggestive. When a case came to Quarter Sessions, a witness first swore to the facts in the presence of the Grand Jury, who either found a True Bill or rejected the case. A sheriff's bailiff normally gave the evidence. Here, however, the witness was Edward Brunsdén. Now Brunsdén had been churchwarden of Great Bedwyn in 1656: that was during the interregnum. His first victims were his fellow parishioners, Bushell and Greene. John Bushell, baptized in Great Bedwyn in 1644 as the son of Richard, came from a well-known local family, still remembered by the Charity he founded on his death in 1721.<sup>1</sup> All his twelve children were baptized in Great Bedwyn between the years 1667 and 1681. Whether he had any special position in the village in 1669 is not known; but on 25 March in each of the years from 1674 to 1678 he signed in the parish register his repudiation of the Solemn League and Covenant. Now in 1674 it became obligatory for anyone holding municipal office to subscribe to such a repudiation; and it seems fair inference that for that time he was acting as the Portreeve of the Borough. We may note too that Greene was a close friend of Bushell's: Greene got Bushell to witness his will in 1681.

Reading between the lines it would appear that Brunsdén, remaining a nonconformist, was led by envy to initiate not only these two local cases, but all the similar cases that followed. He was the local Garill. On the other hand, Brunsdén's action may have been actuated by political motives.

The electors at Great Bedwyn were the freeholders and the inhabitants of ancient burgage houses and of certain church houses. The Bruce family, whose interest in the district started in 1672, were supporters of the Stuarts and of the Tories. In 1680 Richard

<sup>1</sup> He should not be confused with the John Bushell who was churchwarden in 1662, 1665, and 1679 and was of Little Bedwyn who paid Hearth Tax there in 1662, clearly an older man.

Bushell was churchwarden of Great Bedwyn and in 1705 at the County election he and John Bushell voted Tory; but in the election for Bedwyn bribery rather than family loyalty won the day.<sup>1</sup> In 1734 'Dan Bushell' and 'John Bushell gent' must have voted for the Bruces, as in 1765 a Bruce burgrave is described as 'late Dan Bushell'; and equally significantly the Verneys, who were then the Bruces' opponents, were supported by 'Edward Brunnsden on the lives of himself and Richard Brunnsden'.<sup>2</sup> So it looks as if this was a family feud between the Bruces and their opponents, which lasted a full century.

However, neither of the suggestions here offered accounts for the extension of Brunnsden's prosecutions to other parts of the county, after his somewhat ineffectual success at Bedwyn. The question remains open.

The following tokens are either not described or wrongly described in Williamson:

*Obv.* THOMAS · GREENE = Three rabbits

*Rev.* OF · GREAT · BADEN = 1669

See *BNJ* xxvi, pt. iii, pp. 333-8 (1951)

*Obv.* WILLIAM · BVTCHER = A fleur-de-lis

*Rev.* IN · WARMINSTER · 69 = W B

See *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xxx. 306 (1899)

*Obv.* IOHN · HACKMAN = A wool-comb

*Rev.* IN · CHIPENHAM · 1671 = I.M.H.

BW 45 wrongly gives HEORMAN

John Hackman, cardmaker, married Margaret Krill, widow, 28 Nov. 1657 (Par. Reg.)

*Obv.* SIMON · ROLFE = Arms of the Rolfe family: argent, three ravens sable; crest, on a helmet a raven

*Rev.* IN · SARVM. · 1669 = HIS · HALF · PENY

A variety of BW 222<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *County Poll Book* of 1705 and the *Report on MSS. of the Marquess of Ailesbury, 15th Report, Appendix VII*, pp. 190, 193-5, 199.

<sup>2</sup> W.R.O. 1300/nos. 1681, 1686.

<sup>3</sup> Without the encouragement of Mr. Robert

Thompson, together with his helpful suggestions, this paper might well not have been produced.

I should also like to acknowledge the services of the staff of the Wiltshire County Record Office.



## THE JUBILEE COINAGE OF 1887

JEFFREY L. LANT

THE coinage issued in 1887, and for ever to be associated with the Golden Jubilee of that year, was destined to be the shortest lived of the Victorian period. Like many of the other schemes which began as a result of this occasion, such as Church House or the Imperial Institute, the coinage was the subject of much hostile comment. It lasted only six years. What follows is the story of this issue.

The need for a new coinage was not generally disputed and, indeed, Mint authorities were alert to the necessity of bringing the effigy of the Queen up to date. Arrangements had been in progress since 1879 to adopt a portrait medallion by J. E. Boehm, R.A., to the requirements of the coinage and on 15 January 1886 the deputy Master of the Mint, the Hon. C. W. Fremantle, C.B., wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury in order to request payment of Mr. Boehm's 'moderate' fee for seven years' work of 200 pounds. He stated that another of the many pattern coins struck in these years had been presented to the Queen in August 1885 and that the alterations that she had asked for would shortly be effected so that a 'new effigy will be definitively adopted'. (Public Record Office, Mint 1/48, 577.) The fact that the authorities began as early as 1879 to prepare for a change in the royal effigy proves that the new design of the coinage really had nothing to do with the Jubilee and that it was but happy fortune which links this change and the Jubilee of 1887. Had there been no Jubilee impending the coinage would still have been changed, though it would probably have been released earlier. The fact that it is known as a Jubilee issue is more because it was made to be released contemporaneously with that occasion rather than because the Jubilee provided the *raison d'être* for the change. Similarly, the People's Palace in the Mile End Road, a building which bore no necessary relation to the Golden Jubilee, happened to be ready to be opened by her in May 1887 and so was made to play its part in the general paean to the Queen.

Because the change had been so long contemplated there was little hope that the many suggestions which poured from the public would ever be seriously considered by the authorities, who regarded the change as mere routine. However, this attitude, unknown to the public, could not stop the comments which increasingly came to be made about how the Mint should proceed. As the *Daily News*, the chief Liberal newspaper, said on 8 July 1886, 'Our coins are very well in their way, but they are commonplace and prosy.' The *News* further dismissed the shilling, the half-crown, and the gold coins as being characterless, and said that the florin was 'particularly aggravating'. In short, it stated, 'Our English currency seems in the last hundred or hundred and fifty years to have had little history and no romance.' Therefore the idea of introducing commemorative coins to mark the Jubilee received hearty backing from the *Daily News*. Such an idea was not, as we have seen, considered by the Mint. None the less, and most ironically, the issue has become, for posterity, just as commemorative as if some distinctive Jubilee device was placed upon it to mark the occasion.

The decision to issue new coins caused other proposals to be mooted besides that of commemoration. One of the most interesting was that offered by the proponents of



decimal coinage. The history of the demands for such a coinage in the nineteenth century has been little explored and is perhaps best known because of the dogged perseverance with which Plantagenet Palliser, sometime Duke of Omnium, had pursued the subject through an entire series of Trollope's novels. He struggled, as did the other Victorian rationalizers, but without success. Partisans of the idea made use of the Jubilee to again bring their proposal before the public.

These partisans were particularly to be found among adherents to the Liberal Party and it is no surprise, therefore, to find the first re-emergence of the subject in a letter of 16 July 1886 to the editor of the *Daily News* from 'A Traveller'. 'Cannot,' he said, 'the decimal system be introduced in remembrance of that day (the Jubilee)? By the congress about the adoption and introduction of the decimal system, held many years past, all countries then represented pledged [themselves] to adopt and introduce that system. . . . Is it not time that England should break with old customs and introduce the decimal system, which it promised to do forty years ago. . . .?' 'Traveller' doubtless had in mind also the Parliamentary Commission of 1841 which had suggested decimalization.

The battle for decimalization was one which took on general party lines and lent itself to a good deal of violent rhetoric, for the new system was seen to be something foreign and un-English. The Conservative party organ, the *Standard*, was ever-watchful against subtle changes which might lead to the decimal system, and, to anticipate slightly, when the actual proclamation concerning the new coins had been printed in the *London Gazette*, the *Standard* was quick to see the changes as a Mint plot to introduce decimalization. It editorialized on 19 May 1887:

It seems . . . that not only are we to have a fresh design and portrait of the Queen more nearly contemporary with her actual age . . . but an entirely new coin, to be known as the double florin. In other words, England is, for the first time in the history of her numismatical changes, to have a 'dollar'. So far there is nothing very much to be said against the innovation . . . there is no particular need for a four-shilling piece. . . . We get along very well with the single florin, and still better with the half-crown. Long usage has rendered the latter indispensable, though it has long ceased to be regarded with favour at the Mint. And, now that the double florin will form the middle denomination between the two shillings and the half-sovereign, probably a fresh attempt will be made to withdraw it [the half-crown] from circulation. For some years it has been gradually sharing the fate of the four-penny piece. The Mint theorists never took kindly to either. They were 'unscientific' pieces. They rebelled against every approach to the decimal coinage, and, therefore, at least as far as the half-crown and its double were concerned, were discontinued as much as possible, to the regret of many and the satisfaction of few. . . . We must, therefore, protest against the contemplated withdrawal of the half-crown, which . . . has been for some time in progress, and will be still more rapidly consummated by the issue of the double florin . . . the withdrawal of the half and whole crowns, is, we take it, a desire to gradually get into line with the decimal currency. There has always been a peculiar liking for this 'fad' among a certain class of people. . . .

There had of course been decimal coins since 1849. As from that year the coinage included one decimal denomination, the two shilling piece or florin (both names appeared on it); those struck between 1851 and 1887 became known as 'Gothic florins' because the inscriptions on them were in a black-letter alphabet.

These decimal faddists were not willing, it seems, to begin a major campaign on the subject in 1886 or early 1887 when they might have thought themselves able to influence the new issue. No record exists of any attempts to influence the Mint authorities until, most strangely, a fortnight before the new coins were to be released. Then a deputation of the London Chamber of Commerce, under Mr. Samuel Montagu, head of the

banking firm of that name and a Liberal politician, waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Goschen, on 8 June 1887 to urge the adoption of a decimal coinage. *The Times* commented on 10 June:

A decimal coinage can prevail only by a strong force of public opinion in its favour. . . . Of this, however, there is little or no sign. . . . It seems a pity that instead of attempting to deal with the coinage they did not turn their attention to our system of weights and measures. . . . The trouble and inconvenience (of changing coinage) would be enormous, and the benefit comparatively small.

Decimalization was not, of course, destined to come about on the occasion of the Jubilee and the demonstrations in its favour were not very strong. Indeed, the season itself was not conducive to favourable expressions on the issue and this its proponents must have sensed. The Jubilee was a collective backward glance over the glories of Victoria's reign and a celebration of England and things English. It is not surprising that an idea regarded as continental did not get far at this time.

On 12 May 1887 Fremantle, in his capacity as Deputy Master of the Mint, wrote (Mint 7/89) to the Secretary of the Treasury announcing officially that at the Queen's pleasure certain changes were to be made in the designs of the gold and silver coins and that a double florin or four-shilling piece would be added to the currency. He forwarded a draft of the proclamation carrying the Queen's commands into effect and requested the Lords of the Treasury to take the necessary steps for causing an Order in Council to be passed. No changes were to be introduced in the design for the bronze coinage and indeed none was carried out until 1895. This was because there was a large stock of excess bronze at the time. There exists an interesting memorandum on this subject by the Clerk of the Mint dated 7 June 1886 (Mint 8/8) which partially blames 'pushing shopkeepers in London' for the plethora of coins which existed, on the grounds that they ordered immense numbers of bronze coins and placed them in the wrappings of tea and sweets as an inducement to buy.

The proclamation was issued in the *London Gazette* on 17 May 1887 and ordered that 'every Five Pound Piece should have for the Obverse Impression an Effigy with the Inscription "Victoria D.G. Britt:Reg:F.D." And for the Reverse the Image of Saint George armed, sitting on Horseback, attacking the Dragon with a Sword, having broken his spear in the Encounter, and the Date of the Year. . . .' The two pound, sovereign, and crown pieces bore identical designs. On the obverse of other denominations the title and style of the Queen was given solely as 'Victoria Dei Gratia', except in the case of the shilling and the sixpence which carried 'Britt:Regina F.D.' as well. On half-sovereign, half-crown, florin, and double-florin, 'Britt:Reg:Fid:Def:' was transferred to the reverse, either in that form (on florin and double-florin) or in the form 'Britanniarum Regina Fid:Def:' (half-sovereign and half-crown).

The reverse designs varied. Each of the coins offered the ensigns armorial of the United Kingdom but on the half-sovereign they were placed in a 'garnished Shield surmounted by the Royal Crown' while on the half-crown they were 'in a plain Shield surrounded by the Garter, bearing the Motto "Honi soit qui mal y pense" and the Collar of the Garter.' On the florin and double-florin the ensigns armorial were 'contained in Four Shields arranged crosswise, each shield crowned, and between the Shields Four Sceptres surmounted by Orbs, a Thistle and a Harp, and a Star of the Garter in the Centre'. On the shilling and sixpence they were contained 'in a plain Shield surrounded by the Garter bearing the Motto "Honi soit qui mal y pense"'. All carried the date of the year

on the reverse. None were marked with their monetary value. The sixpence and the half-sovereign were the same size.

In addition, new Maundy coins were ordered with the titles of the Queen on the obverse and on the reverse the respective figures of the value of the coins (4, 3, 2, and 1 pence) in the centre, dividing the date of the year and encircled by an oak wreath surmounted by the royal crown.

The Annual Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint, issued in May contained engravings of the new coins. Editorial comment upon these illustrations was an indication of their controversial nature. The *Daily News* said on 30 May 1887,

All these coins will, so far, be universally regarded as an improvement on the old ones. But it is not so with the Queen's effigy. On most of the present coins the Queen's head is uncrowned; on the existing florin, she is represented with a crown which admirably becomes the wearer, by fitting to the head which it properly covers. On the new coins the crown has shrunk into a mere top-knot, and a certain stiffness in the figure suggests that her Majesty is balancing it on her head, from which it shows a decided tendency to slip off. . . . As it is, a good effigy and a series of coins otherwise beautiful have been spoiled.

Mild criticism this, compared with what was to follow.

Whether to answer such criticism or as a means of anticipating similar comments, or simply to herald the Jubilee issue, the Deputy Master of the Mint wrote an article for the June number of *Murray's Magazine* entitled, 'Our New Coins and Their Pedigree'. The designs of Victorian coins generally, and particularly their reverse designs, came in for a great deal of artistic criticism from him and Fremantle said that they generally had not enough artistic merit to be retained. However, it had been decided that the half-crown was still to bear the same reverse as when first issued, that is, a design by Merlin which Fremantle said was of 'considerable merit'. In addition the celebrated reverse by Pistrucci, the 'beautiful design of St. George', had been retained for the five pound, the two pound, the sovereign, and the crown pieces. It had been kept since its first use in 1817 when the sovereign was first introduced, and had been generally approved. That such approval was not universal, however, can be seen in an entirely unappreciative comment by *The Church Times*, the newspaper of the Anglo-Catholic party in the Church of England. On 10 June 1887 it said: 'We cannot join in the applause which has been bestowed upon the George of Pistrucci, which is retained for the sovereign. It is not likely that anybody going out to fight dragons would forget to put on any clothes except a helmet, a cloak, and a pair of shoes.'

Naturally enough, a good deal of public attention had been directed to the new double-florin piece and Fremantle was forced to pass some comment on this coin. Although he said nothing which could directly affront the sensibilities of anti-decimalization opinion (such as the *Standard*), his words by no means calmed their fears.

I am not [he said] without hope that these attempts to substitute silver coins of artistic design for the somewhat commonplace currency to which we have been accustomed during the last fifty years may be favourably viewed by the public; and it is possible that the introduction of a larger piece than those which we have hitherto been in the habit of using, in the shape of the double florin, may in many ways be found useful.

Even before the coins were officially released the adverse reaction of press and public had begun. For example, on 18 June the *Daily News* commented,

In short, the new coins compare unfavourably with the old. The natural grace and majesty of the

Royal countenance might have been more distinctively brought out, and the little crown perched on the disproportionate head like the apple which William Tell's son was said to have been called upon to stand upon his head provokes, as we anticipated, the oddest comments. The new two pound gold piece is a brassy coin in appearance, and its ring, when tried at a banker's counter, is unpleasantly suggestive of base metal. It may be safely said that its ugliness, together with its similarity in size and weight to the silver florin, will bar it from general favour. Practically the weak point in the new coins is the absence of denominations. . . . It is quite possible that a cry will arise for the withdrawal of the new coins.

The *Standard*, in an editorial of 29 June, after the coins had become generally available (they were released on 22 June), wrote,

The portrait of the Queen is not a bad likeness, though certainly not a pleasing or a dignified one. As to the Crown and the head-dress they are quite unnecessary and a distinct disfigurement. The real objection which causes the eye instinctively to rebel against the whole effect of the new coins is that the lines and curves of the portrait are unharmonious in themselves and do not agree with the outline of the piece. . . . People have not been persuaded to take the new issue quite seriously, and the idea has been very prevalent that its quantity will be extremely limited.

In the midst of a growing storm of criticism the Chancellor of the Exchequer was questioned in the House of Commons. On 23 June Mr. W. L. Bright asked the Chancellor whether the general dissatisfaction on the part of the public as to the appearance and workmanship of the new coinage would cause the Government to recommend any alteration in the dies. Mr. Goschen, the Chancellor, responded that it was considered by the authorities of the Mint that it would be preferable to have an artistic design of former days reproduced upon the new coins instead of a simple description denominating their value. He had heard no complaint except in regard to the sixpence. The public had become quite accustomed to the difference between the florin and the half-crown and no confusion existed with regard to them. There would be a similar difference between the new double-florin and the crown. Considerable comment, he was aware, had been made with regard to the head on the coins, but he had heard very little condemnation of the reverses. If they had been condemned at all, it was probably in ignorance of the fact that they were simply reproductions of the best of the old designs.

Thereafter Mr. Childers, the former Liberal Home Secretary, asked whether it could be arranged that the value of a coin be expressed on the coin itself, and Sir John Lubbock, the Member of Parliament for London University, asked whether Goschen had given any further attention to making a distinction between the sixpence and the half-sovereign? Goschen replied to that question that the matter would be reconsidered by the Mint. He replied to Childers as follows:

In regard to the Question of the Right Hon. Gentleman, there had been a great controversy between the numismatists, or lovers of coins, and the more practical persons who passed the coins from hand to hand. It had been considered that it was reverting to a more artistic state of things to have the George and Dragon on the reverse rather than the commonplace device of 'one shilling', 'one sovereign', or whatever. . . . It was a matter in which there was a conflict of authority; but the Mint would be extremely reluctant to abandon the design.

Mr. Isaacs then asked whether Goschen was going to pay any attention to the crown on Her Majesty's head and save it from falling to the ground? If worn as represented, he said, nothing could save it from falling. Goschen said that it would be his duty to take the Queen's pleasure before he would consent to any alteration in the design (Hansard, 3rd series, 316, 774-5, 23 June 1887).



Barclay Head, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum and Hon. Secretary of the Numismatic Society of London, wrote on the following day to the *Daily News*, which printed his letter on 25 June:

In your leading article to-day you refer to Mr. Goschen's assertion in the House of Commons last night that there exists a great contest of opinion between numismatists and practical people on the subject of the types of the new coins. As Secretary of the Numismatic Society, I may perhaps be allowed to correct the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this particular, for I can assure him that the new coinage has given very general dissatisfaction to the members of the Council of the Numismatic Society. Some of the new designs were severely criticised by the President of the Society in his annual address, delivered before the general meeting last week, in the course of which he expressed his regret that the Council of the Society had not been communicated with by the authorities before the choice of the new types.

On 28 June Mr. Isaacs again brought the matter before the House of Commons by asking Goschen whether, having regard to the general dissatisfaction on the part of the public as to the new coinage, he would call in the recent issue and cause new designs to be obtained which would afford a more faithful portrait of the Queen in which the crown should be worn in the traditional manner and the value of each coin be indicated. Goschen responded that notwithstanding the statements as to the general dissatisfaction with the new coinage there had been immense demand for it and that, 'I must frankly say that I feel more bound to satisfy the demand than to call in the coin already issued.' The Mint was unable to meet the demands made on it and the gold five-pound pieces were so much in demand that a premium was being paid on some of them. 'I am not prepared to recommend that the value of each coin should be indicated thereon. Even in the existing currency the value has only been indicated on some of the coins, and I remember no complaints as to its not being on the remainder.' He also defended the head-dress and the crown, which had been so severely criticized, saying that these and the mode of wearing them had been adopted on the new coins because they were shown in the same manner on all the more recent authorized effigies of the Queen (Hansard, 3rd series, 316, 1150-1, 28 June 1887).

The *Standard* replied to Mr. Goschen the following day, 29 June, in an editorial which took him to task for his misleading statements.

The questions put by Mr. Isaacs last night about the new coinage were so worded, as to give Mr. Goschen an opportunity for making, without much difficulty, what looks at first sight like an effective answer . . . the idea has been very prevalent that its quantity will be extremely limited. Hence the rush to get specimens while they might be had. With regard to the five-pound pieces, for which silly people have been paying large premiums, the statement has been deliberately put about that no more would be struck, and it was this rumour that raised the price.

Furthermore, Mr. Goschen had not taken into account the general Jubilee fervour which induced people to want to put aside some souvenir of the great occasion of the summer, and, indeed, a unique occasion of the reign.

Public opinion and criticism did finally become so great that the design of the sixpence was altered. As 'Branch Manager' said in a letter to *The Times* of 22 June 1887,

I think it a great blunder that the new sixpence should be precisely the same in size and pattern as the new half-sovereign and that it bears no indication of value. It will be very easy to gild these coins and pass them through banks for half-sovereigns where the amounts paid in are small. Where a credit consists of only a small amount of gold the cashiers simply count it without weighing. I think the sixpence should at once be withdrawn or the most cruel frauds will be perpetrated upon persons who will



not be able to judge of the difference by feeling the weight, and the cashier's 'shorts' will show a considerable increase.

On 9 November Fremantle wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury that the Queen had signified her pleasure that the sixpence was to be changed (Mint 1/49, 1668). The Treasury Solicitor had advised a new Order in Council and this was promulgated on 28 November 1887. The design adopted was one with the words 'Six Pence' placed across the centre of the reverse.

Criticism, however, despite Mr. Goschen's assurances, by no means abated in the summer of 1887 and on 28 July Mr. Poynter (later Sir Edward Poynter, P.R.A., in opening an exhibition in South Kensington of the work of the art schools of the kingdom, suggested that these same schools should send in designs for a new coinage, implying that the Jubilee coins should be at once withdrawn. As the *Daily News* said on 29 July, 'The Royal Academician's criticism of this deplorable failure only puts in a more coherent manner what has been said by everybody else. The coinage is universally condemned.' Poynter fixed the responsibility for the poor quality of the coins on the engravers of the Mint. He absolved Boehm from responsibility for the fiasco. He said, 'The head was modelled by Mr. Boehm, and making all allowance for the necessity of pleasing an illustrious patron, that may have led Mr. Boehm to accept such structural absurdities as the toy crown and the straight veil, it was difficult to believe that a sculptor of his eminence should have turned out such a thoroughly bad work. For the head is bad all over. . . .' Poynter suggested that in this instance the machine was not employed and that the head was turned over for manual reproduction to the mint engravers. The *Daily News* finished its account by saying, '... the new coinage is only the worthy successor of the new postage stamps. In each case, one of the greatest opportunities of the whole reign has been muddled away.'

Poynter also criticized the heraldry of the new coins in saying, 'Some of the new heraldic devices are the poorest things of the kind we have ever had.' This observation was not unique and found expression elsewhere, and in a correspondence, not without its amusing aspects, which exists within the Mint records, and is between a Mr. A. MacGeorge and the Mint authorities.

On 31 December 1887 Mr. MacGeorge wrote to Fremantle,

Your kind attention to a former communication from me which resulted in the correction of the design on our bronze coinage, encourages me to write to you now in regards to an equally serious error in the new florin and which again affects Scotland. The lion rampant, as you are aware, is not peculiar to Scotland. What constitutes the distinctive peculiarity of the arms of that kingdom is that the lion is represented within a *double tressure* floré and counter floré. But on the new Florin the lion appears within a *single tressure* only. What appears on the coins, therefore, is *not the arms of Scotland*. I am surprised at Mr. Wyon [Leonard Wyon, modeller and engraver to the Mint] not attending to this, if it is Mr. Wyon's work—as the arms are given with perfect correctness on the new shilling. The double tressure appears there with perfect distinctness. This is a very serious error. It is a matter affecting the dignity—to use heraldic language—of one of the United Kingdoms. You will know how to deal with it. With the coins already issued nothing of course can be done, but the further issue may be stopped and the error corrected. There is another particular in which the shilling—which is a beautiful coin—contrasts favourably with the florin. On the shilling the *tinctures* of each of the three shields are given, as they ought to be. Was there any reason for not giving them on the florin? Apart from heraldic accuracy it adds much to the richness of the design (Mint, 7/38).

On 23 January 1888 Mr. MacGeorge wrote again asking whether the matter he had brought to the attention of Mr. Fremantle had yet been attended to since he had merely

received an acknowledgement of his earlier letter. On 9 February Fremantle wrote to MacGeorge:

The matters to which you called my attention on the 31st December have not been overlooked. If you will look closely at the Scottish shield on the new Florin you will observe that the tressure is really double, but it will no doubt be desirable to put the lines farther apart, and this will be done in future dies. With regard to the lines or marks which indicate tincture it may be desirable to introduce them, but I would point out that tincture was not indicated in the pieces of which the new coins are reproductions. Coins of William III and Anne are before me now, in which the tincture of the shields is not shown.

Naturally enough Mr. MacGeorge returned to the attack in another letter to Fremantle:

I was quite aware that there were two *lines* surrounding the lion. But unfortunately it takes two lines to make one tressure. Single lines in Heraldry are only used as 'partition' lines, in the division of a shield or to enclose spaces which are filled with colours. The lines are themselves colourless. But the tressure is a *band of colour* and the two lines on the florin to which you refer are merely to enclose this coloured band and to separate it from the other colour (or metal) which forms the tincture of the 'field' or ground of the shield. . . . You say the correction will be made 'in future dies' but I trust no more coins will be struck from the present die. It is wrong. The arms of Scotland are not represented at all. And the matter is important. There is nothing, I think, more essentially a question of State, nothing *more* clearly affecting the dignity of a great nation than the heraldic accuracy of its flag and its coinage.

Fremantle replied on 14 February,

. . . I confess that your drawing of the double tressure does not show me what is the precise change which you think right to be made in the Scottish shield on the reverse of the new florin, &c. In your letter of the 31st December you say 'The arms are given with perfect correctness on the new shilling. The double tressure appears there with perfect distinctness.' I propose to adopt the treatment of the shilling on all other shields, probably adopting the tincture also.

On 15 February MacGeorge wrote to Fremantle,

I regret extremely to find that in my letter to you of 31st December I inadvertently misled you as to the heraldic device on the shilling. The mistake arose from my very defective eyesight. On applying a magnifying glass I find that each tressure is represented by only a single line. There *ought* to be two. On so small a scale it is not easy to do this, but the success of Mr. Wyon's work in the alteration which he made in the bronze coinage—where the scale was much smaller—satisfies me that he will easily do this also. . . . Permit me to add that if it would save you any further personal trouble it would give me great pleasure to look at the engraver's drawing before he puts it on the die. . . . I have become—as you have no doubt found out—hypercritical perhaps in my notion of what heraldic forms should be. . . . It will be a beautiful coin when you alter it as you propose.

Finally, Mr. MacGeorge sent along a corroborating opinion of the Lyon King of Arms on the double tressure in the shield of Scotland, but when the next issue of coinage eventually emerged in 1893 it revealed no change from that of 1887 in the treatment of the tressure, the correction not being made until as late as 1937.

Other, and more eminent personages than Mr. MacGeorge found themselves dissatisfied with the coins and within a year, in June 1888, the Queen herself inspected a new design for the effigy on the coinage. She wrote to Goschen on 10 June saying,

The Queen thanks Mr. Goschen for his letter received yesterday and returns the pattern coin and memorandum by Mr. Fremantle. She thinks this new design greatly preferable to the one struck last year, especially as to the size, for the other head was much too small. She regrets the Crown not being on the head. As regards the likeness the underlip projects too much and the chin though correct in shape is slightly too short and the eye is not good. It lacks the beauty of workmanship of the original

coin. Then she *must* insist on the Imp. being added before D.F. Really there is room for one of her proudest titles while the D.F. is really a most unnecessary one having been given to Henry VIII by the Pope. There is plenty of room for Imp. as well as Reg. and D.F. and the Queen *must insist* on it [Percy Colson, ed., *Lord Goschen and his Friends*, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1945, p. 51].

The question of the inclusion of 'Imp.' was in fact scarcely one of space, as the Queen well knew. It was one of the strictest constitutionality, for, by the Bill which made her Empress of India, she was strictly prohibited from using her Indian title within the United Kingdom, and to make use of it on the coins would be a departure from precedent. Goschen wisely took no action on the question at this time.

Following the Queen's approval the larger effigy was used for shillings of the years 1889-92, but dissatisfaction with the coinage continued and in 1893 a wholly new coinage was released. The explanation why this was not done earlier is twofold. In the first place, the Jubilee coinage was popular with the public notwithstanding the criticism directed against it. It constituted, initially, the best form of Jubilee keepsake. No less than 1,881 sets of specimen coins in proof were sold for eleven guineas or approximately 25 per cent more than their face value (Mint 1/49, 2532). A more significant indication of their popularity, however, exists in two letters sent from the Mint to the Treasury requesting gratuities for overtime and extra work on the part of salaried Mint officers. On 21 May 1889 (Mint 1/49, 2514) Fremantle wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury saying that, 'Early in 1887 it became necessary to make preparation for the issue of coins of the new designs, of specimen coins, and of medals to be struck in commemoration of Her Majesty's Jubilee. From June to December 1887 the Department was engaged in the execution of an exceptionally large coinage of silver, of the nominal value of £671,000, rendered necessary by the demand for coins of all denominations bearing the new effigy of Her Majesty.' Furthermore, the Jubilee medals and the specimen coins were not finished until 31 December 1888. As Fremantle wrote, 'during these eighteen months the amount of coinage executed has been far greater than during the preceding two years' (*ibid.*). The undoubted demand for the coins made it easy for the Mint to wait for a moment far removed from the Jubilee and the criticism of the Jubilee coins to change the designs.

In March 1891 Fremantle wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury to inform him that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had requested that a committee report to him on what changes it might be desirable to make in the design of the coins. Fremantle asked for Treasury authority to give up to eight artists, an honorarium of £150 for submitting designs. The Committee was composed of Sir Frederick Leighton, President of the Royal Academy; Mr. David Powell, Deputy Governor of the Bank of England; John Evans, as President of the Numismatic Society of London (thus placing on the committee one of those who had criticized the coinage in 1887); Mr. Richard Wade, Chairman of the National Provincial Bank; and Fremantle himself, now the Hon. Sir Charles Fremantle, K.C.B. (Mint 1/49, 135b).

This Committee invited Henry Armstead, R.A., Thomas Brock, R.A., Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., Charles Birch, A.R.A., Edward Ford, A.R.A., and Edward Poynter, R.A. (who had made such effective criticism in 1887 to submit designs). Brock's design for the Queen's head was selected. Leonard Wyon, modeller and engraver to the Mint had died during 1891 and there was no regular Mint engraver, Mr. G. E. de Saulles was specially selected by Brock to put the design in steel. Particular attention was given to

the crown, the result of which, as Fremantle said, 'left little to be desired as a work of art' (Mint 1/49, 499).

The Committee, which reported on 11 March 1892, also had the satisfaction of seeing its recommendations adopted concerning the double-florin and the florin; the first was dropped from the 1893 coinage and the other had its dimensions reduced. Denominations were still not indicated on the gold coins though all the silver coins were marked with their values. None of the reverse designs created for 1887 was retained though the Pistrucci obverse remained on the gold coinage and the revised sixpence reverse was also retained. In a paragraph of some significance the Committee said, 'We submit with our Report the selected designs, to the legend of which we have caused the addition of "Indiae Imperatrix" in an abbreviated form, to be made in compliance with the recent request of the Chancellor of the Exchequer' (Mint 1/49, 533). A tenacious Queen had triumphed.

The official proclamation was promulgated on 18 January 1893. The death of Leonard Wyon had placed a convenient scapegoat in the hands of the Mint authorities in the person of De Saulles, and he was given only a probationary contract in order to complete the new designs. However, since a good deal of forethought had gone into the preparation of these new designs no human sacrifice proved to be necessary and on 1 January 1894 Fremantle wrote to the Treasury requesting the retention of De Saulles, who became the official 'Engraver to the Mint'; an appointment, said Fremantle (no doubt with relief), 'justified by the favourable reception of the new series of coins both by experts and by the public generally' (Mint 1/49, 1055). Full came the circle and the Jubilee coins were history.

## MISCELLANEA

### A SMALL HOARD OF WILLIAM I TYPE I PENNIES FROM NORWICH



FIG. 1. Norwich (Garlands) hoard,  
coin no. 3



FIG. 2. Norwich (Garlands) hoard,  
coin no. 4

THIS small hoard of nine complete pennies of William I type I (*profile/cross fleury*) from East Anglian mints, with fragments of a few others, was found on 20 March 1972 on the site of Garlands departmental store, London Street, Norwich. At an inquest held in Norwich on 30 August 1972 they were found not to be treasure trove. They were returned by the Coroner to the finder, Mr. Alan Carter, but by agreement between Mr. Carter and the owners of the site, Debenhams Ltd., they were then presented to Norwich Castle Museum. This note on the hoard owes much to detailed information readily made available by Mr. Carter and by Miss Marion Archibald, M.A., of the British Museum, to both of whom my grateful thanks are due.

Garlands, one of the largest shops in Norwich, was destroyed by fire on 3 August 1970. During the subsequent redevelopment of the site it was possible to record features of archaeological interest and to recover pottery and other finds for examination, this material also being presented to the museum by Debenhams Ltd. As is usual, observation of the site was carried out without causing any delay to the building operations, there being full co-operation with the site architects, Lambert, Scott & Innes, through Mr. K. A. Brewster, and with the main contractors, through Mr. Norman, site foreman.

Mr. Alan Carter, M.A., Director of the Norwich Survey Project, was on the site with Mr. Jan Roberts of Norwich Castle Museum when he found the coins. The site is only a few yards from Pottergate (now Bedford Street at this point), where the existence of late Saxon and early medieval kilns making Thetford-type ware is well attested by other finds. As he was examining a layer of soil which contained large amounts of ash and of broken and misfired Thetford-type ware

pots, Mr. Carter noticed a patch of soil discoloured apparently by a typical silver corrosion product. Closer examination showed that this surrounded a small number of coins, some fragmentary, loosely cemented together by corrosion in a stack one on top of another. There was no evidence of a container, nor of a hole in the ground in which they might have been concealed; they were firmly stratified in the layer in which they were found, some 18 inches (45 cm.) beneath the concrete basement floor of the former Garlands building. Such archaeological evidence as there was suggested that the coins, probably carried in a purse, may have been accidentally dropped amongst the deposit raked out from the bottom of a pottery kiln, any search for them being unsuccessful. Alternatively, it is possible that they had been concealed, following a theft, by someone who could find no better place of concealment in what was then an active industrial area. The nature of the ground in which they were found makes proof impossible and the case cannot be argued conclusively either way, this ambiguity as to *animus revertendi* demonstrating one of the major weaknesses of treasure-trove law.

Upon their discovery, the coins were placed by the Coroner in the temporary keeping of Norwich Castle Museum. Although five complete coins could then be identified as pennies of William I type I from the Norwich and Thetford mints, their condition was so poor that full identification was impossible at that stage; the fragments were even worse, but appeared to represent five or six other coins. They were then passed to the British Museum, and their present fine appearance is due to conservation and repair at the hands of Mr. K. A. Howes, conservation officer in the Department of Coins and Medals. The metal remains very brittle, however, and the coins therefore



require very careful handling. Some are incomplete in spite of a careful search of the findspot.

The coins all proved to be of the same type and have been identified, principally by Miss Marion Archibald, as follows:<sup>1</sup>

1. *Cambridge* mint, moneyer Godric.  
Obv. + [PILL] EMVREIXI  
Rev. + GODRICONGRIINT  
Weight: 1.034 g. (broken, incomplete).  
From the same reverse die as BMC 3.
2. *Norwich* mint, moneyer Eadwine.  
Obv. + PILLEMVSREXI  
Rev. + EADPINEONNORÐ  
Weight: 1.044 g. (broken but complete).  
BMC 38 by this moneyer is from different dies.
3. *Norwich* mint, moneyer Man.  
Obv. + PILLEMVREXI (no sceptre)  
Rev. + MIINONNORDPI  
Weight: 1.067 g. (unbroken).  
Man is not represented in the BM in this type, but this coin is a die duplicate of Mack Sylloge 1355 (*BNJ* xxviii (1955-7), p. 404). It is also a die-duplicate of 4, and from the same obverse die as 10a. (Illustrated above, Fig. 1.)
4. *Norwich* mint, moneyer Man.  
Die duplicate of 3, q.v.  
Weight: 1.197 g. (unbroken). (Illustrated above, Fig. 2.)
5. *Norwich* mint, moneyer Thurgrim.  
Obv. + PILLEMVREXI  
Rev. + ÐVRGRIMONNO  
Weight: 1.003 g. (broken, incomplete).  
Thurgrim is not represented in the BM in this type; this coin is a die duplicate of 6.
6. *Norwich* mint, moneyer Thurgrim.  
Die duplicate of 5, q.v.  
Weight: 0.695 g. (broken, incomplete).
7. *Thetford* mint, moneyer Cunric (rendered Cunwic).  
Obv. + PILLEMIIRE  
Rev. + CYNPICONDEOT  
Weight: 1.156 g. (unbroken).  
BM coin by this moneyer is from different dies.
8. *Thetford* mint, moneyer Godwine.  
Obv. + PILLEMVREXI  
Rev. + GODPINEONÐIOT  
Weight: 1.185 g. (unbroken).  
BM coin by this moneyer is from different dies.
9. *Thetford* mint, moneyer Godwi(ne).  
Obv. + PILLEMVREX

Rev. + GODPIONDEOTFOR

Weight: 0.928 g. (broken, incomplete).

BM coin by this moneyer is from different dies.

10. Several fragments, not from a single coin but probably representing two or three coins:
  - (a) Obv. ]PIL[  
Rev. ]IIN[  
Weight: 0.107 g.  
Certainly from the same obverse die as 3 and 4; perhaps not from the same reverse die, but very probably by Man of Norwich.
  - (b) Obv. ]XI[  
Rev. ]NO[  
Weight: 0.089 g.  
Probably from a Norwich mint coin.
  - (c) Obverse illegible.  
Rev. ]B[  
Weight: 0.073 g.
  - (d) Tiny fragment, nothing legible.  
Weight: 0.016 g.

Miss Archibald points out that the particular interest of this hoard lies in its exclusively East Anglian content. Five of the coins (and at least one other of which only a fragment remains) are from the local mint of Norwich. Two pairs of coins, by Man (3 and 4) and Thurgrim (5 and 6), are die-duplicates, and subsequent examination of the fragments has shown that 10a is certainly identified by a distinctive flaw as from the same obverse die as those by Man. This die is also notable in omitting the sceptre normally but not invariably found beside the king's profile. Three of the remaining coins are from the Thetford mint, and the last is from Cambridge. Some variety of obverse legend is present, exceptionally on the Cambridge mint coin (1) where the legend ends REIXI. The Thetford mint-signature is unusually rendered ÐIOT on a coin by Godwine (8).

The hoard clearly comprises a small compact group of coins. Following conservation, their condition is seen to be remarkably fresh, and this together with the composition of the hoard suggests strongly that they had not been in circulation for more than a short time before their loss or deposition. The type was the first of William I's reign, issued and current in 1066-8; the date of deposition can hardly have been later than 1069.

T. H. MCK. CLOUGH

<sup>1</sup> The coins were weighed on the Norwich City Engineer's balance, an Oertling analytical model R41 which gives a reading to four places of decimals.

## AN ENIGMATIC TWO STARS PENNY OF WILLIAM I



FIG. 1 Enigmatic two stars Penny of William I

THE reverse inscription of the coin illustrated does not correspond with that of any recorded examples of *BMC* type V of William I. Unfortunately, it has been repaired from several small fragments and some are missing. The reading is far from certain, and a crucial part at the start of the mint name is lacking, but it seems to be *PIIFRIHONI* ( 'IKCI. Before F may be H (for A?), rather than II, and the upright before o has, apparently, a small extension to the right at the top, gamma-like; there is a similar mark after the last letter. The moneyer would seem to be Wulfric. The mint name is broken away after an upright and recommences with a comma, perhaps the back of a P or R. The penultimate letter could be C or E. Before this there seems to be a K; unfortunately this letter is so rare on Norman coins (*BMC* I, lix, gives it only in the names of Ulfkecel of York in William I type I and of Kippig or Ckippig at Winchester in Henry I's last type and Stephen's first), that there is little to compare it with, but it is quite unlike the common letter R and it is hard to believe that anything other than K was intended here.

Mints where the name Wulfric is recorded under

William I or II are Canterbury, Cricklade, London, Nottingham, and Sudbury. Only Cricklade of these, where Wulfric occurs in type VIII (cited by Brooke only from A. Durlacher sale, 1899, lot 8), could possibly be represented by the letters of the mint name on this coin; two other moneyers are recorded for the mint in type V and one would hesitate to add a third at so small a mint, even if they might have been consecutive. There is no die-link.

Alternatively, if the 'K' could be C, other mints, where no Wulfric is otherwise recorded, might be considered. Miss Archibald has suggested Bristol to me (again no die-link), but there are few other names even remotely likely. The possibility remains that the reverse inscription was deliberately obscure, although, apart from the problem of reconstructing the defective mint name, there are no other grounds for suspecting the official character of the coin. It is presumably the coin described as no. 168 in the 'War Area' (= Scaldwell, Northants, cf. *BNJ* xxviii (1955-7), p. 650) hoard, then in three fragments (*BNJ* xii, p. 32).

IAN STEWART

## A TAMWORTH PENNY OF HENRY I

AN entry in the diary of the antiquarian Thomas Hearne, Fellow of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, for 7 July 1712, reads:

July 7th Monday

The following Silver Coyn was found in the Garden of the Parsonage House of Islip, & was shew'd me by Mr. Penny Curate there to Dr. South. 'Tis of Henry II'd (*sic*).

On one side is

†HENRICVS R

on the other

TAMEPV:

ÆLEFPINE:  
ON.

(Id est, Alefwine on Tamewu[rth])<sup>1</sup>

This entry is accompanied by two carefully drawn sketches (Fig. 1) of the bust and reverse



FIG. 1

<sup>1</sup> *Bodleian Library: MS. Hearne's Diaries*, 36, pp. 182-3; Doble, 'Hearne's Collections vol. III', *Oxford His. Soc.* xiii (1888), p. 388.

design showing that the coin is clearly of Henry I, BMC type XIII.

There is only one coin known today of the moneyer Lefwine at Tamworth<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 2), which



FIG. 2

is a Henry I type XIII (weight 1.16 g., die-axis 340°) in the Hunter collection, Glasgow University. The legends read:

Obv. \*HENRICVS R

Rev. \*LEFVINE ON TAMEPV

This coin was acquired by William Hunter probably between 1770 and his death in 1783 but no earlier provenance is known.

A comparison between Hearne's sketches and

this coin reveals great similarities. Each shows a very high crown with unpronounced arches, bearing three bands, and a small die flaw projecting from the back. The proportions of the face and arm concur well. Hearne's misreading in the reverse legend of an initial cross for *A* is understandable if he was not assuming or expecting the legend to begin with a cross.

Although it is possible that this is a second penny of Lefwine for Henry I, the most reasonable assumption to make is that Hearne's penny discovered at Islip, Oxon., and the coin in the Hunter collection is one and the same.

Thomas Hearne has unfortunately been much neglected by numismatists. His diaries (1705–35) provide a wealth of information which is for the most part, as demonstrated by his carefully drawn sketches, very accurate. There are many items similar to this in it which could profitably be published.<sup>2</sup>

MARK BLACKBURN

#### A POSSIBLE CIVIL WAR HOARD OF UNKNOWN PROVENANCE NOW IN THE BIRMINGHAM CITY MUSEUM

THE hoard here described was first seen by the writer in 1967 in a general collection of coins at the Roman Catholic Seminary at Oscott, near Birmingham. The coins were then contained in a metal tobacco box of c. 1920 date, and were of such uniform condition and patina that it was clear that they represented either the whole or part of a hoard. The residue of the Oscott collection, including the hoard (Accession nos. 799'68/831'68), was purchased by the Birmingham City Museum in 1968, but by then the container had been lost.

The findspot of the hoard is unknown. The contents of the Museum and Library at Oscott were described in general terms several times in the

late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the college magazine *The Oscotian*, but no reference to the hoard is made. No accession registers or other indexes were kept by the college authorities.

At present the hoard comprises thirty-three coins of Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I. The latest coins are three shillings with the i.m. triangle in circle, struck between 1641 and 1643.

The coins are mostly very badly worn and have all been clipped. The patina is uniform and several coins bear traces of copper and iron corrosion as if from a container.

The coins are listed for the record, and weights given in grammes to two decimal places.

#### ELIZABETH I

No.	Denomination	Initial mark	Date	Weight/g.
1.	Shilling	Lis or Cross crosslets?	(1558–61)	3.81
2.		Cross crosslets	(1560–1)	3.91
3.		Cross crosslets	(1560–1)	4.38
4.		Martlet	(1560–1)	4.45
5.		Ermine?	(1572–3)	5.26
6.		Bell	(1582–3)	4.90

<sup>1</sup> See E. W. Danson, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norman Mint of Tamworth, Staffordshire', *S. Staffs. Arch. & Hist. Soc. Tran.* xi (1969–70), pp. 32–57.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Anne Robertson for answering my questions and supplying photographs of the coin in the Hunter collection so swiftly.

No.	Denomination	Initial mark	Date	Weight/g.
7.		A	(1583-4/5)	5.18
8.		Tun	(1591-2/4)	3.87
9.		Tun	(1591-2/4)	4.32
10.		Tun	(1591-2/4)	5.78
11.		Tun	(1591-2/4)	5.90
12.		Tun or woolpack?	(1591-2/5-6)	5.57
13.		Illegible	( - )	3.73
14.		Illegible	( - )	3.74
15.	Sixpence	Coronet	156-	2.18
16.		Coronet	15-	2.30
17.		Coronet	1567	2.50
18.		Coronet?	156-	2.51
19.		Acorn	1573	2.42
20.		Sword?	1583	1.96
21.		Tun	1593	2.22
22.		Tun	1593	2.80
23.		Woolpack	1594	1.88
24.		Key?	15-	1.78

## JAMES I

25.	Shilling	Lis (first coinage)	(1604-5)	4.45
26.		Lis? (first coinage)	(1604-5)	5.47
27.		Tun?	(1615-16)	3.86

## CHARLES I

28.	Shilling	Rose or harp	(1631-3)	4.57
29.		Crown	(1635-6)	6.02
30.		Triangle in circle	(1641-3)	4.87
31.		Triangle in circle	(1641-3)	5.09
32.		Triangle in circle	(1641-3)	5.64
33.		Illegible	( - )	4.42

ANTONY GUNSTONE

## BROADWOODWIDGER (DEVON) TREASURE TROVE



FIG. A. Broadwoodwidge Hoard, Charles I, Weymouth, half-crown



FIG. B. Broadwoodwidge Hoard, Charles I, Scottish, six shilling piece, 1634.

ON 24 February 1972 Mr. G. T. Pearce, Mr. R. A. Thatcher, and Mr. B. E. L. James discovered a hoard of 326 sixteenth-seventeenth-century silver coins during mechanical earth-digging opera-

tions in a field near West Banbury Farm, Broadwood, Devon. The coins were contained in a Bellarmine jug but were dispersed after the vessel had been smashed open. The earliest of the pieces

was a worn Philip and Mary shilling of 1555; the latest a James II shilling of 1685.

The find was declared treasure trove at an inquest held at Okehampton on 6 September 1972. Items no. 197, Charles I, Weymouth mint

half-crown, 1643-4 (Fig. A) and no. 314 Charles I, Scottish six-shilling piece, 1634 (Fig. B), are of particular interest and have been acquired by the National Collection. The remainder are being returned to the finders.

#### PHILIP AND MARY 1554-1558

Shilling			Weight (grains)	Type
1.	1555	English titles (crown dividing date) Obv. ET instead of Z and ANG. instead of ANGL	82.1	North 1968

#### ELIZABETH I 1558-1603

Shillings		Mint-mark	Weight (grains)
2-15.	1560-61	cross-crosslet	88.9, 87.8, 86.8, 86.5, 85.4, 85.4, 84.8, 84.1, 82.4, 80.2, 75.3, 60.5, 52.4
16-28.	1560-61	martlet	88.8, 87.6, 85.2, 85.1, 84.5, 83.5, 82.5, 78.7, 77.4, 72.7, 69.4, 67.6, 62.8
29-30.	1582/3-83	bell	85.1, 80.4
31-5.	1583-84/5	A	88.7, 88.6, 84.8, 84.7, 80.7
36-9.	1584/5-87	escallop	85.8, 84.6, 83.9, 65.6
40-1.	1587-89/90	crescent	89.1, 86.7
42-3.	1589/90-91/92	hand	89.5, 86.9
44-6.	1591/92-94	tun	89.5, 89.5, 86.5
47-53.	1594-95/96	woolpack	92.9, 91.2, 90.3, 89.6, 88.9, 85.8, 84.9
54-5.	1595/96-97/98	key	90.6, 88.8
56.	1601-2	I	79.8
Sixpences			
57-9.	1561	pheon	41.4, 39.5, 35.2
60-1.	1563	pheon	30.7, 23.0
62.	1564	pheon	41.7
63-8.	1561-5	pheon	39.8, 39.7, 36.4, 35.5, 34.9, 31.3
69.	1565	rose	31.5
70.	1566	rose	32.8
71.	1565-65/66	rose	35.5
72-4.	1567	coronet	41.5, 40.9, 35.4
75-9.	1568	coronet	42.6, 41.2, 36.8, 33.1, 31.3
80-1.	1569	coronet	42.9, 40.9
82-3.	1567-70	coronet	37.8, 36.1
84.	1567	lion?	39.8
85.	1568	coronet	35.2
86.	1570-2	castle	37.9
87-90.	1572	ermine	42.6, 40.6, 38.9, 32.7
91.	1573	ermine	40.9
92.	1573	acorn	40.6
93.	1574	acorn	35.8
94-6.	1574	eglantine	41.6, 41.5, 40.1
97-101.	1575	eglantine	39.1, 37.8, 37.8, 37.8, 35.6



		<i>Mint-mark</i>	<i>Weight (grains)</i>	<i>Type</i>
102.	1578	eglantine	39.4	
103.	1574-8	eglantine	42.8	
104-9.	1578	plain-cross	42.4, 42.1, 41.8, 40.9, 40.3, 38.9	
110.	1579	plain-cross	37.1	
111.	1580	plain-cross	39.5	
112-14.	1578-80	plain-cross	40.4, 30.2, 28.9	
115-16.	1580	long-cross	39.9, 36.5	
117.	1581	long-cross	36.1	
118.	First Coinage	?	37.3	
119.	1582	bell	40.6	
120-1.	1583	bell	39.5, 38.7	
122-3.	1582/3-83	bell	41.5, 36.5	
124.	1584	A	39.8	
125.	1583-84/85	A	38.1	
126-8.	1585	escallop	39.9, 39.5, 38.1	
129.	1587	escallop	28.2	
130.	1584/5-87	escallop	40.8	
131-2.	1587	crescent	41.1, 38.2	
133.	1589	crescent	38.8	
134.	1590	hand	39.2	
135.	1591	hand	32.7	
136-7.	1592	hand	43.1, 41.1	
138.	1592	tun	41.8	
139.	1594	tun	42.5	
140.	1591/92-94	tun	34.4	
141-2.	1594	woolpack	43.2, 37.3	
143.	1595/6-97/98	key	37.1	
144.	1597	?	43.6	
145-6.	1601-2	1	40.9, 40.6	
147-9.	1602-3	2	40.4, 36.2, 29.3	
Groat				
150.	1560-1	cross-crosslet	29.0	

## JAMES I 1603-1625

Shillings				
151.	1603-4	thistle	86.3	First bust
152-7.	1604-5	lis	89.3, 87.1, 86.4, 84.4, 84.4, 83.6, First/Second bust	
158-67.	1605-6	rose	90.5, 89.2, 88.6, 87.1, 85.9, 86.1, Third/Fourth bust. 85.8, 61.9, 61.1, 57.8	
168.	1606-7	escallop	88.1	Fourth bust
169-71.	1607	grapes	89.8, 87.7, 86.1	Fourth bust
172-3.	1607-9	coronet	87.2, 86.1	Fifth bust
174.	1609-10	key	86.3	Fifth bust
175.	1613	trefoil	93.7	Fifth bust
176.	1623-4	lis	92.2	Sixth bust
Sixpences				
177.	1603	thistle	40.9	First bust
178.	1603-4	thistle	39.8	?
179.	1604	lis	40.7	Second bust

## M

		<i>Mint-mark</i>	<i>Weight (grains)</i>	<i>Type</i>
180.	1604	?	37.7	?
181.	160?	?	34.1	Second bust
182-3.	1605	rose	41.2, 37.8	Third bust
184.	1606	rose	43.2	Fourth bust
185.	1605	?	32.3	Third bust
186.	1606	escallop	41.2	Fourth bust
187.	1621	rose	38.1	Sixth bust

## CHARLES I 1625-1649

## Half-crowns

188.	1638-9	anchor	232.1	3a <sup>2</sup>
189-91.	1641-3	triangle in circle	244.3, 226.4, 191.9	4
192.	1643-4	P in brackets	226.8	4
193.	1643-4	P in brackets?	226.3	4
194.	1644-5	R in brackets	223.9	3a <sup>3</sup>
195.	1645	eye	171.9	3a <sup>3</sup>
196.	1645-6	sun	212.7	5
197.	1643-4	Obv. castle (Mint of Weymouth) Rev. rose	216.3	Allan B11

## Shillings

198.	1625	lis	58.2	1
199-204.	1632-3	harp	90.3, 89.8, 89.8, 88.6, 87.6, 87.4	3 <sup>1</sup>
205-8.	1634-5	bell	90.1, 89.3, 88.8, 87.1	3 <sup>a</sup>
209-16.	1635-6	crown	90.3, 89.6, 89.5, 89.2, 88.1, 87.4, 72.4	3 <sup>a</sup>
217-22.	1636-8	tun	93.6, 89.2, 88.8, 87.2, 71.0, 68.5	3 <sup>a</sup>
223.	1636-8	tun	87.9	4 <sup>1</sup>
224.	1636-8	tun	89.9	4 <sup>2</sup>
225.	1636-8	anchor	85.1	4 <sup>3</sup>
226-8.	1636-8	anchor	91.1, 89.3, 87.1	4 <sup>4</sup>
229.	1639-40	triangle	91.2	4 <sup>3</sup>
230-4.	1639-40	triangle	91.0, 90.1, 87.6, 87.5, 73.7	4 <sup>4</sup>
235-43.	1640-1	star	94.0, 91.1, 90.1, 89.6, 89.2, 88.8, 86.9, 86.4, 66.2	
244-58.	1641-3	triangle in circle	92.5, 92.5, 90.4, 90.3, 90.1, 89.6, 89.3, 88.8, 87.5, 87.4, 86.2, 85.2, 84.8, 83.2, 80.5	4 <sup>4</sup>
259-64.	1644-5	R in brackets	91.1, 88.9, 87.8, 87.4, 87.1, 85.5	4 <sup>4</sup>
265-79.	1645	eye	95.1, 91.8, 91.6, 91.2, 90.1, 89.9, 89.7, 89.7, 89.6, 89.5, 88.9, 87.6, 87.5, 86.4, 76.6, 70.9	4 <sup>4</sup>
280-3.	1645-6	sun	90.7, 90.4, 88.2, 86.9	4 <sup>4</sup>
284-5.	—	?	86.5, 66.5	4 <sup>4</sup>
286.	1645-6	sun	87.8	4 <sup>5</sup>
287.	—	?	94.8	4 <sup>5</sup>
288.	1646-9	sceptre	91.1	4 <sup>5</sup>
289.	1642-4	lion (Mint of York)	96.7	North 2316
290.	1638-42	book (Mint of Aberystwyth)	90.3	North 2329

		<i>Mint-mark</i>	<i>Weight (grains)</i>	<i>Type</i>
SCOTTISH				
12 Shillings				
291.	1625-49	thistle	87.6	Stewart 4 <sup>a</sup>
ENGLISH				
Sixpences				
292.	1632-3	harp	41.8	3
293-4.	1633-4	portcullis	46.6, 41.4	3
295-6.	1634-5	bell	39.2, 38.5	3a
297-300.	1635-6	crown	42.6, 42.4, 39.9, 39.8	3a
301-2.	1636-8	tun	42.4, 41.4	3a
303.	1636-8	tun	42.6	4 <sup>1</sup>
304-5.	1638-9	anchor	44.5, 41.2	4 <sup>1</sup>
306-7.	1639-40	triangle	42.7, 40.6	4 <sup>2</sup>
308.	1640-1	star	41.6	4 <sup>2</sup>
309-10.	1641-3	triangle in circle?	44.6, 42.5	4 <sup>3</sup>
311.	1643-5	R in brackets	44.0	4 <sup>3</sup>
312.	1645-6	sun	44.3	4 <sup>4</sup>
313.	1646-9	sceptre	43.7	4 <sup>4</sup>
SCOTTISH				
Six Shillings				
314.	1634	thistle	41.9	Type 1
HAMMERED COINAGE				
Half-crowns				
315-17.	1660-2	crown	229.2, 221.6, 174.5	North 2761
Shillings				
318-19.	1660-2	crown	92.9, 88.1	North 2764
MILLED COINAGE				
Half-crowns				
320.	1670		229.5	Spink 703
321-2.	1673		225.3, 223.4	Spink 708
323.	1674		229.7	Spink 711
Shillings				
324-5.	1678		92.5, 91.1	Spink 731
JAMES II 1685-1688				
Shilling				
326.	1685		90.5	Spink 784
S. A. CASTLE				

*The poi containing the Broadwoodwidge Hoard*

The Broadwoodwidge coin hoard was deposited in a stoneware bellarmine (Fig. 1). The Chilton Foliat (Wilts.) hoard (deposited c. 1680) was

found in a Westerwald mug and so this is the second coin hoard of this period that has been recently found in an imported stoneware vessel

(M. Jessop Price, 'Treasure Trove at Chilton Foliat', *NC* 1967, pp. 199-201).

The Bellarmine was broken on discovery and the base, handle, and neck were all lost. Enough survived of the front to show the mouth and beard of the mask and the top half of a floral stamp in the centre. The fabric is a blue-grey stoneware with a light-brown interior and a dark-brown mottled exterior. The floral stamp has a ring of small squares around the edge. This also occurs on a jug from Basing House and several others

(S. Moorhouse, 'Finds from Basing House', *Post-Med. Archaeol.* 4 (1970), fig. 22, no. 266, and M. R. Holmes, 'The So-called Bellarmine Mark on Imported Rhenish Stoneware', *Antiq. Journ.* xxxi (1951), pl. xxivd, e and xxva, b).

The mask is rather crude which suggests that the pot was made in the latter half of the seventeenth century and that it was not very old when it was buried (M. R. Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 179).

J. CHERRY

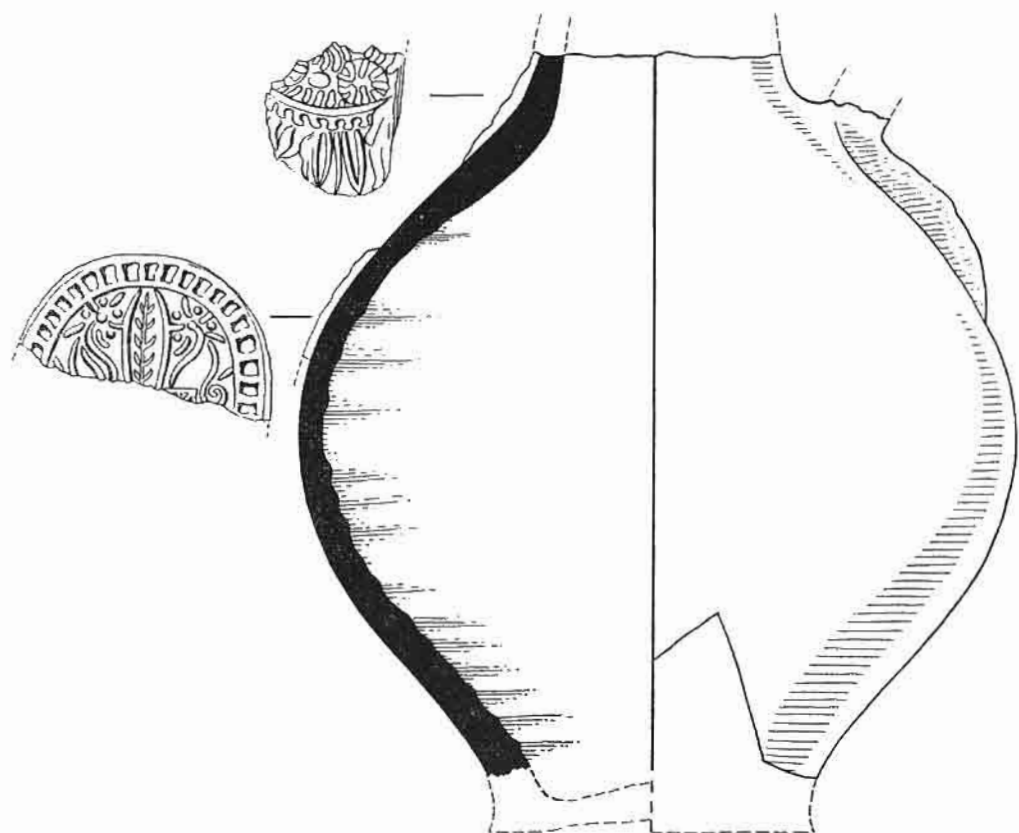


FIG. 1. The pot containing the Broadwoodwidge Hoard. Scale 2:3

#### WYMINGTON (BEDFORDSHIRE) TREASURE TROVE

A HOARD of 131 gold and 242 silver nineteenth- and twentieth-century coins was found during fire-fighting operations at nos. 2-4 Church Lane, Wylington, Bedfordshire, on 8 August 1971. The coins, which tumbled from the thatched roof during water-spraying, were discovered by Mr.

K. A. Wildman, Mr. C. S. Fensome, and Mr. R. Hales, firemen of the Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire County Fire Brigades. The find was declared treasure trove at an inquest held at Bedford on 7 September 1971. None of its constituents was required for the national collection.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Type</i>
	<i>Sovereigns</i>		123-5.	1907	St. George
Victoria			126.	1908	"
1-2.	1872	St. George	George V		
3.	1879	"	127-8.	1911	St. George
4.	1880	"	129.	1912	"
5.	1884	"	130.	1913	"
6.	1885	"	131.	1914	"
7-9.	1889	"			
10.	1890	"		<i>Crown</i>	
11-13.	1891	"	Victoria		
14-15.	1892	"	132.	1888	St. George
16.	1893	"			
17.	1894	"		<i>Half-crown</i>	
18.	1895	"	Victoria		
19.	1896	"	133.	1874	Shield
20.	1897	"	134-5.	1878	"
21-4.	1898	"	136.	1880	"
25-30.	1899	"	137.	1881	"
31-8.	1900	"	138-40.	1883	"
39.	1901	"	141-2.	1884	"
Edward VII			143-4.	1885	"
40-2.	1902	St. George	145-6.	Date illegible	"
43-50.	1903	"	147.	1887	"
51-4.	1904	"	148.	1888	"
55-6.	1905	"	149-50.	1889	"
57-64.	1906	"	151.	1890	"
65-70.	1907	"	152-3.	1891	"
71-4.	1908	"	154-6.	1892	"
75-8.	1910	"	157.	1893	"
George V			158-61.	1895	"
79-85.	1911	"	162-3.	1896	"
86-7.	1912	"	164.	1897	"
88-9.	1913	"	165-6.	1900	"
	<i>Half-sovereigns</i>		167.	1901	"
Victoria			Edward VII		
90.	1890	Shield	168.	1904	Shield
91-4.	1892	"	169-72.	1906	"
95.	1894	St. George	173-5.	1907	"
96.	1895	"	176-7.	1908	"
97-8.	1896	"	178-82.	1909	"
99.	1897	"	183.	1910	"
100-1.	1898	"	184-7.	1911	"
102.	1899	"	188-90.	1912	"
103-6.	1900	"	191.	1913	"
Edward VII			192-9.	1914	"
107-11.	1902	St. George		<i>Florins</i>	
112-14.	1903	"	Victoria		
115.	1904	"	200.	1855	Shield
116.	1905	"	201.	1857	"
117-22.	1906	"			



<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>
202.	1866	Shield	286.	1893
203.	1869	"	287.	1894
204-5.	1871	"	288-91.	1895
206.	1872	"	292.	1896
207-11.	1873	"	293-4.	1897
212.	1874	"	295.	1898
213.	1883	"	296-7.	1899
214-16.	1888	"		
217.	1889	"	Edward VII	
218-19.	1890	"	298.	1902
220-1.	1891	"	299-300.	1906
222-4.	1893	"	301.	1907
225.	1894	"	302-3.	1910
226-9.	1895	"	304-11.	1911
230-2.	1896	"	312.	1912
233-4.	1897	"	313-16.	1914
235-6.	1898	"		
237-8.	1899	"		
239-42.	1900	"		<i>Sixpences</i>
243.	1901	"	Victoria	
Edward VII			317.	1839
244.	1903	Britannia	318.	1864
245-6.	1904	"	319.	1880
247-9.	1906	"	320.	1882
250-1.	1907	"	321.	Date illegible
252.	1908	"	322.	1883
253.	1909	"	323.	1888
254.	1910	"	324.	1889
George V			325-7.	1890
255.	1911	Shields	328.	1893
256-9.	1912	"	329-31.	1895
260.	1913	"	332-4.	1896
261-6.	1914	"	335.	1898
			336-40.	1899
			341.	Date illegible
			Edward VII	
	<i>Shilling</i>		342-3.	1902
Victoria			344-5.	1904
267.	1838		346.	1906
268.	1864		347-9.	1907
269.	1866		350.	1908
270.	1868		351-2.	1909
271.	1872		353-5.	1910
272-3.	1874		356-9.	1911
274.	1877		360.	1912
275.	1880		361-2.	1913
276-7.	1886		363-5.	1914
278.	1887			
279.	1889			<i>Threepence</i>
280-1.	1890			
282-3.	1891		Victoria	
284-5.	1892		366.	1873?

No.	Date	No.	Date
367.	1883	George V	
368.	1884	373.	1913
369.	1889?		
370-2.	1900		

S. A. CASTLE

## STOURPORT-ON-SEVERN (WORCESTERSHIRE) TREASURE TROVE

ON 19 September 1973, Mr. H. Hughes discovered a hoard of 4,118 nineteenth-twentieth-century coins under a seed bed in a greenhouse in his garden at no. 61a, Areley Common, Stourport-on-Severn, Worcestershire. The hoard, which consisted of 4,073 silver coins dating from 1889 to 1946 and 45 cupro-nickel, from 1947 to 1951, was partially wrapped in fragmentary newspaper, one piece bearing the date 25 January 1947.

The total face value of this hoard amounts to £388. 1s. 9d., a fairly considerable sum, and doubtless the savings of someone who had little or no faith in banks, the General Post Office, or paper currency. It is noteworthy with this hoard that the high mintage figures for 1920-3, 1928-9, and 1939-45 are reflected in the large quantities for those years. However, the scarcity of coins dating from 1946 to 1951, is curious and clearly indicates that comparatively little was being saved during the post-war period.

The find was declared treasure trove at an inquest held at Stourport-on-Severn on 13 December 1973, and as none of its constituents was required for the national collection, has been returned to the finder.

*Victoria 1837-1901*

	Quantity
Florin (Old head) 1900	1
Shilling (Jubilee head) 1889	1
Shilling (Old head) 1900	1
Sixpence (Old head) ? 1893-1901	1
	—
	4

*Edward VII 1901-1910*

Half-crown 1907	1
Florin 190?	1
Shilling 19??	1
	—
	3

*George V 1910-1936*

Half-crowns	1911	1
	1913	1
	1914	2
	1915	3
	1916	1

	1918	2
	1920	69
	1921	109
	1922	81
	1923	66
	1924	15
	1925	2
	1926	9
	1927	12
	1928	60
	1929	73
	1930	4
	1931	60
	1932	27
	1933	32
	1934	11
	1935	27
	1936	45
		—
		712
Florins	1914	1
	1915	3
	1916	2
	1920	45
	1921	109
	1922	79
	1923	30
	1924	17
	1925	3
	1926	14
	1927	3
	1928	39
	1929	64
	1930	20
	1931	31
	1932	1
	1933	35
	1935	37
	1936	56
		—
		589
Shillings	1914	1
	1915	2
	1916	1
	1918	1
	191?	1

		<i>Quantity</i>				<i>Quantity</i>	
	1920	19			1943		84
	1921	29			1944		75
	1922	37			1945		132
	1923	15			1946		37
	1924	6			1948		5
	1925	4			1949		1
	1926	18			1951		1
	1927	22					—
	1928	22					846
	1929	25		Florins	1937		45
	1930	8			1938		39
	1931	11			1939		74
	1932	13			1940		90
	1933	14			1941		120
	1934	13			1942		167
	1935	8			1943		90
	1936	22			1944		109
		—			1945		150
		292			1946		19
Sixpences	1911	1			1947		14
	1913	1			1948		14
	1916	1			1949		5
	1918	1			1950		4
	1920	10					—
	1921	12					940
	1922	9		Shillings	<i>English</i>	<i>Scottish</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
	1923	3		1937	7	11	18
	1924	12		1938	8	5	13
	1925	7		1939	10	11	21
	1926	10		1940	17	23	40
	1927	4		1941	10	7	17
	1928	12		1942	27	17	44
	1929	20		1943	14	12	26
	1930	14		1944	28	11	39
	1931	15		1945	20	13	33
	1932	7		1946	20	11	31
	1933	16			—	—	—
	1934	4					282
	1935	9		Sixpences	1937		11
	1936	23			1938		12
		—			1939		27
Threepence	1936	1			1940		30
		—			1941		16
		1			1942		38
					1943		47
					1944		25
	<i>George VI 1936–1952</i>				1945		34
Half-crowns	1937	27			1946		17
	1938	28			1947		1
	1939	80					—
	1940	121					258
	1941	76					
	1942	179					

S. A. CASTLE

## REVIEWS

*Otium et Negotium: Studies in Onomatology and Library Science presented to Olof von Feilitzen.*  
 Edited by FOLKE SANDGREN. Stockholm, 1973.  
 272 pp.

DR. VON FEILITZEN, whose *Pre-Conquest Personal Names in Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937) is increasingly in use as a research tool by Anglo-Saxon numismatists, was among the first to recognize clearly the potential of coin legends, properly studied, as a source for personal names and place-names. In recent years he has lent his expert help to the editing of the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, and has collaborated with Mr. C. E. Blunt in studying the personal names on the coinage of Edgar. It is fitting that the volume published in his honour should include, among a wide range of topics, three very useful articles on Anglo-Saxon numismatics. Mr. Blunt writes on the origins of the Stafford mint, the work of which he traces from the reign of Athelstan to that of Henry II. He gives a corpus of coins, both with and without the mint name, for the period 924–75. Prof. Dolley discusses the forms of the proper names appearing on the earliest coins struck in Ireland—86 specimens of the ‘Crux’ coinage struck at Dublin by Sihtric Silkbeard c. 997. (They are produced, incidentally, from some 42 obverse dies and 51 reverse dies.) By a novel screening technique he de-codes from their blundered legends the basic formula *SITI RX DIFLINME*. Mrs. Veronica Smart writes on Cnut’s York moneyers, and points out that the Scandinavian form of the place-name, Jork or Eorc, existed alongside the Old English form Eoforwic. Her careful survey of the overwhelmingly Scandinavian personal names of the moneyers is a model of presentation, which could usefully be followed in work on other mints.

D. M. M.

*Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 19: Bristol and Gloucester Museums. Ancient British Coins and Coins of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Mints.*  
 By L. V. GRINSELL, C. E. BLUNT, and MICHAEL DOLLEY. Published for the British Academy 1973. 122 pp., 27 plates. £7.00.

THIS *Sylloge* volume has a rather complex content that is not completely indicated in its title, and it is as well to begin by describing it. In the first part of the volume Mr. Grinsell publishes 21 Ancient British coins and 225 coins of the

Bristol mint from Cnut to William III that are in the collection of the City Museum, Bristol, and a further 12 coins of the Bristol mint of varieties not represented in the museum. He contributes a short history of the mint and there are notes on the mint-signatures of Bristol and on the names of Bristol moneyers by Dr. M. Gelling and Mrs. V. J. Smart respectively. The second part of the volume, by Mr. Blunt and Mr. Dolley, publishes 23 Ancient British coins and 170 coins of Gloucestershire mints—Berkeley (1 coin), Gloucester (154 coins), Winchcombe (15 coins)—in the Gloucester Museum. Blunt and Dolley provide a history of these mints (and a note on the possible mint of Cirencester), Dr. Gelling and Mrs. Smart contributions on mint signatures and moneyers’ names, and Mr. J. Neufville Taylor a short review of the history of the Gloucester collection, interesting for the information that it provides on the late T. G. Barnett, benefactor both to Gloucester and to the British Museum, and for its reminder that Mr. A. H. Baldwin *primus* was a native of Fairford. It is to be noted that the division of material does not allow for the publication of coins of Gloucester, Winchcombe, and Berkeley at Bristol or of coins of Bristol at Gloucester; this may not be much of a loss—indeed there may be no such coins—but it is curious to read that ‘Gloucestershire mints’ is a term held not to include Bristol not merely for the purposes of this volume but (p. 91) for the purposes of the interpretation of T. G. Barnett’s will. It might as plausibly be claimed that Manchester is not in Lancashire.

Of the coins published that of Berkeley has been discussed by Dolley in another place and those of Winchcombe, a one-moneyer mint operating from Eadgar’s reform to the *Paxs* type of William I, call for no comment beyond that provided by Blunt and Dolley (pp. 105–9). The Ancient British coins in both museums are predominantly coins of the Dobunni, and two of those in Gloucester (nos. 1, 16) derive from the vicinity of this reviewer’s local (and unexcavated) hill fort.

The coins of the Bristol and Gloucester mints are the core (and the cause) of the volume. Gloucester was the older of the two, opening in the reign of Ælfred; known from mint-signed coins of Æthelstan; and in continuous operation from Eadgar’s reform to the early stages of the

*Cross-and-Crosslets* type of Henry II. Bristol opened, as far as can be judged, early in the reign of Cnut and was a mint from then until c. 1180. Thereafter Gloucester was used as a mint for the recoinage of 1248–50 and Bristol for recoinages in 1248–50, 1280–1, and 1300–2; in 1465–72 and 1546–9; in 1643–5 when London was not available to Charles I; and finally for the great recoinage of 1696–8. This volume thus lists and illustrates a lengthy run of Anglo-Saxon and Norman material, *Long Cross* pennies of Lawrence types ii (Gloucester) and iii a–c (Bristol, Gloucester) and coins of the Bristol mint of the later dates indicated.

As such it is a most valuable addition to previously published material, for there has been no modern study of either mint and the Bristol and Gloucester collections are not familiar to numismatists in other parts of the country. Standards of typography and layout are as good as ever and the clarity of the plates shows the superiority of having coins photographed from casts to having them photographed direct.

The author's treatment of individual coins and topics is very competent but not quite faultless. Two coins of the *Expanding Cross* type of Edward the Confessor in the Gloucester section (nos. 82, 85), one 'heavy' and one 'light', appear to be from the same obverse die; Blunt and Dolley do not note this, so they may in fact not share a die, but the coins at least show that the *Expanding Cross* bust variety with a triangular yoke on the king's chest dates to the moment of transition between 'light' and 'heavy' issues of the type. A more serious omission, indeed a startling one, is that an apparent *Paxs/Cross in Quatrefoil* William I/II mule (Bristol, no. 59) passes quite without comment. A possible explanation is that there has been some error in mounting the plate and that a cast of a *Paxs* obverse has been affixed in the wrong place (the obverse die involved being that of no. 52 on the same plate).

There is as yet no standard *Sylloge* publication style for coins of more recent date and one's observations on Blunt, Dolley, and Grinsell's handling of them must be carefully expressed. Two matters do seem worth comment. First, there are numerous die-identities among the Henrician *Long Cross* coins of each mint and among later coins of Bristol to which the authors do not draw attention; this is a flaw in their treatment of the material and it runs counter to the *Sylloge* practice of giving all coins an equally full identification. Second, though it is an excellent idea to use documentary material to provide surnames for

the Bristol and Gloucester moneyers of 1248–50 (pp. 17–18 and p. 105), it is not much good making only partial use of it. When Blunt and Dolley write that the moneyers Ion, Lucas, Ricard, and Roger can be 'identified' from documentary sources as 'Iohannes filius Simonis, Lucas Cornubiae, Ricardus le Francois, and Rogerius Emēpse', what they mean is that the contemporary list of mint officials for this coinage—conveniently available in Charles Johnson's edition of *The De Moneta of Nicholas Oresme*, 1956, pp. 100–6, but quoted by them from *BNJ* xi (1915), p. 68—renders their names thus. For 'identification' of them it is necessary to turn to the range of mid thirteenth-century Gloucester documents published in W. H. Stevenson's *Records of the Corporation of Gloucester*, which show that these individuals were burgesses of Gloucester, each serving his time as city bailiff, and that the last named's name was in fact Roger Le Enveyse. Reference to the same collection of documents would have saved Grinsell from the erroneous Roger de Enveyse (p. 17) and would probably have prevented his suggestion that the Bristol moneyer Roger in this type could have been the Gloucester Roger transferred. The value of documentary evidence of this kind is shown by Grinsell's own citation of a Bristol cartulary that shows that the surname of the Bristol moneyer Elias was not 'de Aby' (a spelling that has caused Dolley to associate him in the past with the Lincolnshire village of that name) but Aky or Akye.

H. E. P.

*Welsh Tokens of the Seventeenth Century*. Edited, with an Introductory Essay and a Mercer's Inventory of 1673, by GEORGE C. BOON. National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 1973. 144 pp., together with corrigenda slip. £1.80.

OF all the publications devoted to seventeenth-century trade tokens which have appeared since Williamson revised Boyne's epic tome more than eighty years ago, very few can be said to constitute real advances in the knowledge and understanding of the *raison d'être* of this series, an historically important chapter in the study of British numismatics.

Much of the first proper groundwork of this kind, based on numismatic evidence, was carried out by Milne and, to a lesser extent, Macalister, in the 1930s. Mr. Boon has succeeded in producing a work which is of equal importance to that of Milne's on Oxfordshire tokens, which makes this title essential reading for all collectors and students of the series.



Produced as a soft-back on art paper, this new book on tokens of Wales and Monmouthshire is scheduled to be the first in a series of publications describing and augmenting the permanent exhibition of coins and medals at the National Museum of Wales. Therefore, it is not surprising that the book has been largely based on the Welsh tokens in the collection at Cardiff, although the author has obviously been to a good deal of trouble in seeking out other institutions and private collectors in possession of Welsh pieces, to make his volume as complete as possible.

The book itself is split into three main parts, commencing with the Introductory Essay. Here Mr. Boon expounds many theories concerning this series of tokens with perhaps too consummate an ease, but also raises one or two new points of interest which have not been published before. For the first time ever, a graph projects a conspectus of the dated tokens from twenty-one counties in the first volume of Williamson's revision, the London series therein, and the present-day Welsh total. The lines on the graph correlate in peaks and troughs and Mr. Boon offers evidence that the latter correspond with the issue of official patterns.

In line with Whitting and Seaby, the author includes a map of the places of issue. Other forms of illustration in the Essay include arms, both private and those of London guilds, as they appear on the tokens, signatures of token issuers taken from documents (also a 'first' for this series), and a photograph of an iron token die.

Following the Essay is the Inventory of Caernarvon mercer and token-issuer, Griffith Wynn, made in 1673. The inclusion of such a long Inventory (occupying 33 pages of the book) would appear questionable in what is a basically numismatic work, although it will doubtless have appeal from the historian's viewpoint. Preceding the main catalogue, or Schedule, of tokens, is an explanation of the forming of the token collection at Cardiff, and a select bibliography with an understandable Welsh bias.

The Schedule itself lists a total of 165 different tokens; this can be compared to 148 recorded by Seaby in 1962, and 112 known to Lloyd when compiling the Welsh and Monmouthshire sections of Williamson's Boyne.

The principal additions to Seaby's list are the pennies of Thomas Shaw of Denbigh dated 1669, and of Robert Wynne of Dolgellau; and the farthings of Jacob Wolford of Haverfordwest, Charles Lloyd of Newtown, and Edward Lwis (*sic*) of Abergavenny; however, the latter was

noted by Snelling. The unlocalized halfpenny of Sarah Thomas, first published by Seaby in April 1965 and thought to belong to Monmouthshire on account of the Royalist symbols it bears, is left in the 'Non Local' section by the author, doubtless pending concrete evidence of attribution. The tokens of Lawrence Cooke of Wrexham have been correctly assigned (Seaby gave one to Welshpool on Nott's evidence).

Each entry in the Schedule gives somewhat scanty details of the token issuer if known, a direct photograph of presumably the finest known specimen, a full reading of the inscription including the differing stops used on the tokens, weight and die-axes variations, and a list of all the specimens examined, together with findspots if known. Curiously enough, of the two known types of English/Welsh mule, only one gets a mention in the Schedule, namely the Bromyard/Ruthin example bearing the name of the Bromyard trader John Baynham. The Cambridge/Cowbridge mule is only detailed in the Introductory Essay.

The corrigenda slip can be augmented with relation to the Schedule. On No. 3(b) Abergavenny is spelt with one N, not two; on No. 62 the surname is spelt Davis, not Davies; and on No. 72 Peny is spelt with two Ns, not one. The Schedule takes each locality in alphabetical order and discards county subdivision, as did Williamson.

For a series which has only attracted isolated study until recently, comprehensive and intelligent works on seventeenth-century tokens of different localities must be encouraged. Although Mr. Boon's corpus leans understandably towards the numismatic aspect of this field, the historian will also find much of interest in it. If there is to be one quibble from this reviewer, it concerns the distinct lack of information from the parish registers. In few instances are the births or deaths of the issuers given, or even the names of their wives. If a revision of this book ever becomes necessary Mr. Boon should think seriously of getting more information of this kind.

P. J. M.

*The Proposed Coinage of King Edward VIII.* By G. P. DYER. London, H.M.S.O., 1973. ix+32 pp., frontispiece+9 plates in text. 25p.

A FEW years ago (*NC* 1971, p. 367) I dealt with a booklet by R. J. Trowbridge on the same subject as the present work, which was indicative, it now appears, of how little we knew about it. But it was probably inevitable that we should have had to wait until the death of the Duke of Windsor before the inner history of his proposed

coinage, as king, could have been published. None the less it is with no sense of 'now it can be told' that Mr. Dyer, Librarian and Curator at the Royal Mint, has with the approval of the Queen made public many details for the first time. *The Proposed Coinage of King Edward VIII* was written for inclusion in the 1971/2 Annual Report of the Deputy Master and Comptroller, but with a sure touch it has also been issued as a separate pamphlet, it being realized how much a wider audience would be interested. Seldom indeed can a numismatic work of such importance have been produced at such a price, and that with no sacrifice of quality.

Mr. Dyer first describes the steps leading up to the final selection of the excellent effigy by T. H. Paget, with which the work of C. W. Peck and others have already made us familiar. This, and indeed all extant uncrowned effigies except an earlier rejected one of Mr. Paget's, face left, showing the king's hair parting. We are given the true reasons for this curious departure from the tradition that successive monarchs shall face alternately right and left on their coinage. Mr. Paget's effigy exists in several versions, with both Latin and English inscriptions: it is noteworthy that his work had already begun, discreetly, before the king's accession, a first, but in the end unsatisfactory, low relief model being delivered to the Mint as early as October 1935. This sprang from his much acclaimed high-relief medal for the Honourable Company of Master Mariners executed earlier in the same year.

There can be no doubt that the final choice, ultimately the king's, was right in selecting Mr. Paget's work. Various others, which fell by the wayside, are illustrated: three by William McMillan, and the before-mentioned right-facing version by Mr. Paget. To modern eyes Mr. McMillan's work has a hard unsympathetic line which, while no doubt more in accordance with the accepted artistic criteria of its day, was not so 'popular' as Mr. Paget's. His style closely resembles that of Percy Metcalfe.

The reverses of the United Kingdom coins are then considered. A series of 'royal animals' by Wilson Parker was not adopted, except for his wren design, originally intended for the silver threepence, used on the farthing. The designs of George Kruger Gray were adopted for the silver: Mr. Paget's Golden Hind, originally intended for a half-crown, was used for the halfpenny. The Britannia design of the penny was by C. W. Coombes of the Royal Mint staff and in its original version included a battleship in frontal view

at right. Several of the designs as finally approved were therefore almost exactly like those later used for George VI, but there were also differences. The half-sovereign, English shilling, and Maundy money are absent from the sets preserved at the Royal Mint, though the Maundy would certainly have been of the traditional design. There can be no doubt the English shilling would also have been struck, as happened under George VI, in a design substantially little different from that of the last issue of George V, though the existence of a Scottish shilling for Edward VIII demonstrates that this innovation was not originally conceived as the compliment to Queen Elizabeth, now the Queen Mother, that it afterwards became. The gold inevitably used Pistrucci's St. George design, but unlike the George VI gold the extant specimens have milled edges: the half-sovereign was not included in the set, but was reinstated in the George VI proof sets at the instance of numismatists.

The crown was the same as George VI's—an earlier design by Kruger Gray of which uniface strikes exist was rejected—and the florin almost so, though reading of course ER instead of GR. Uniface strikes also exist of a rejected florin design, substantially as issued for George VI but with ER at the sides of the crown and the emblems united on a common stem.

More unfamiliar to our eyes are the designs approved for the half-crown, sixpence, and silver threepence. The half-crown showed the royal arms displayed on a rectangular banner instead of the shield used for both George V and George VI. I agree with Mr. Dyer that this design was not a great success. The sixpence and threepence showed variations on a theme of St. Edward's ring, as an item of the regalia particularly appropriate to the new king: the sixpence showed six and the threepence three rings linked together. It is clear these designs were considered inappropriate for George VI.

Much numismatic interest naturally attaches to the novel nickel-brass threepences of Edward VIII, a very few examples of which have fallen into collectors' hands, and here the author springs one of his surprises. It is clear that the pieces with reverse by Miss Frances Madge Kitchener, thrift-plant in circle—now very familiar to us through repeated illustration if not actually present in our cabinets—were not of the type finally approved, and would never have had the status of officially issued coins. The coin as approved for issue had the even more familiar reverse of those of George VI, a version of Miss

Kitchener's design by Percy Metcalfe. Mr. Dyer takes us through each step of the evolution of this design, from shape-trials with head of George V and ROYAL MINT TRIAL DIE reverses, to the final coin. Early vending-machine tests resulted in a great increase in the thickness of the piece, for which Miss Kitchener's delicate work was thought unsuitable. Her original model, for a scalloped coin, has the word THRIFT below the ground-line: in her dodecagonal version this was replaced by a tangle of roots in which, perhaps, her initials MK may be discerned. Her earliest sketch proposes the design for a silver three-pence.

Apart from the issue of 1936-dated non-portrait coins of Edward VIII for British West Africa, East Africa, Fiji, New Guinea, Kutch, and Jodhpur, the abdication left time for very little progress towards the coins of the Empire. Left- and right-facing crowned effigies for colonial coins were, however, prepared, and that by Percy Metcalfe, facing left, was approved for use. It does not bear more than a superficial resemblance

to his so-called 'high relief' first crowned head of George VI (used in Ceylon, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Jamaica, and Southern Rhodesia), so the theory propounded by your reviewer some years ago that the latter may have been merely a hastily altered version of the former falls to the ground. A crowned head intended for medals was also prepared by Metcalfe.

The substance of Mr. Dyer's paper was delivered as a lecture to the British Numismatic Society on 23 January 1973, on which occasion the majority of his fascinating illustrations, so clearly reproduced in the published version, were also seen as slides. In the process more than thirty-five years of speculation and ill-informed half-truth (to which the present writer is conscious that he may have unwittingly contributed) has been dispelled by the clear light of official, authentic information. There is no excuse for the future historians of our coinage to gloss over this, one of its most interesting modern episodes.

D. L. F. S.

## OTHER LIBRARY ACCESSIONS AND PUBLICATIONS NOTICED, 1973

### General

\*A Survey of numismatic research 1966-1971. New York: [American Numismatic Society for the] International Numismatic Commission. \$40.00 (3 vols.).

I: Ancient numismatics, edited by Paul Naster, J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu, and Joan M. Fagerlie. 1973. vi, 372 pp.

II: Mediæval and oriental numismatics, edited by Jacques Yvon and Helen W. Mitchell Brown. 1973. vii, 373 pp.

III: Modern numismatics including medals, edited by Lubomír Nemeškal and Elvira Clain-Stefanelli. 1973. vii, 374 pp.

\*International numismatic directory, 1973, compiler-editor JAN J. KRASNOŹBSKI; with a foreword by C. H. V. Sutherland. London (9 St. Lawrence Road, SW9 6PW): J. J. KrasnoŹbski, 1973. £3.30. 272 pp. Title-page and introduction in English, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Polish, and Spanish. Includes Museums and libraries; International organizations; Societies and clubs; Periodicals; Banks and mints; Contemporary designers, engravers, and medallists; Medals; Auctioneers; Dealers; Who's who. Address now: 19 Boileau Road, W5

\*Annual report of the AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY for the period ending September 30, 1972. [1973]. 94 pp., 4 pls. Includes (p. 15, pl. III) the purchase of an Æthelred II Crux-type penny signed BERHTLM M-O COL, ex Massachusetts Historical Society ex Henry Adams ex Sotheby 1868.

\*Ashmolean Museum. Report of the Visitors. 1965-[to date]. Accessions include (1965, p. 77) a groat of Henry VII, profile issue, obv. as Potter and Winstanley type 1(b) die 3, new reverse; (1969/70, pp. 46-7, pl. XV) an angel of Henry VII, obv. initial-mark rose, rev. none.

The Coin and medal collection of the Black Country Society. JOHN BRIMBLE. In *Blackcountryman*, 6, Spring 1973, pp. 62-5, illus.

British Museum. Report of the Trustees, 1969-

1972. 1972. £1-00. 92 pp., pls. 'Department of Coins and Medals', pp. 40-3, 74, pl. VII.

The Coins. RICHARD REECE. In *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1969*, vol. 2: *The finds*, by Barry Cunliffe, 1971 (Society of Antiquaries. Research Committee. Reports, no. 27), pp. 92-100. Included Roman, English mediæval, British, and Spanish coins, jettons, and a token.

\*La Numismatique: valeur d'art et de placement. ALAIN WEIL et PATRICE DE LA PERRIÈRE. Paris: Guy Le Prat, 1973. 236 pp. (Collection 'Valeurs-Refuge') 'Lexique multilingue' (français-anglais-allemand-espagnol-italien), pp. 227-33.

Metals and coins. HAROLD GLOVER. In *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 121, May 1973, pp. 367-80, illus. Cf. \*Spink's Numismatic Circular, 81(3), March 1973, pp. 97-9.

### Celtic

\*British Isles. DEREK F. ALLEN. In *A Survey of numismatic research 1966-1971*, I . . . 1973, pp. 248-51.

The ship on Gaulish coins. D. F. ALLEN. In *Antiquaries' Journal*, 51 (1), 1971, pp. 96-9.

\*The Manufacture of Celtic coins from the La Marquanderie hoard. F. C. THOMPSON and M. J. NASIR. In *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, xii, 1972, pp. 61-73, illus.

A gold stater of Corio from Kingswood, Bristol. L. V. GRINSELL. In *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 90, 1971, p. 220, pl.

### Roman

Les Relations entre le monnayage des Romains et ceux des peuples voisins de l'ouest. J. P. C. KENT. In *Cercle d'Études Numismatiques, Bulletin*, 10 (1), Jan./Mar. 1973, pp. 2-11, illus. In relation to the coins of Celtic Britain, amongst others.

Some coins of Carausius from Richborough. N. SHIEL. In *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 87, 1972, pp. 115-20.

- \*A Hoard of Constantinian reduced folles from Brentford, Middlesex. JOHN CASEY. In *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, xii, 1972, pp. 141-3.
- \*A Hoard of Constantinian coins from Freston, Suffolk. E. OWLES, N. SMEDLEY, and H. WEBB. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-57, illus.
- Romano-British counterfeits on Mendip and in South Wales: two deposits and a discussion. GEORGE C. BOON. In *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society*, 13 (1), 1972, pp. 70-82, illus. The sites were a cave near Shepton Mallet, and a Roman mine at Cefn-pwll-du, Draethen, on the Glamorgan/Monmouthshire border.
- Continental Europe*
- \*Migrations des peuples et haut moyen âge en Occident: numismatique du haut moyen âge, v<sup>e</sup>-x<sup>e</sup> siècles. JEAN LAFAURIE. In *A Survey of numismatic research 1966-1971, II* . . . 1973, pp. 22-43.
- \*France. FRANÇOISE DUMAS. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-62.
- \*Scandinavia. KOLBJØRN SKAARE. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-212.
- \*Niekłóre problemy napływu kruszcu srebrnego na ziemie polskie we wczesnym średniowieczu. FRANCISZEK KMIETOWICZ. In *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*, 16 (2), 1972, pp. 65-87; summary (in English), pp. 88-90. 'Some problems of the influx of silver bullion to Polish lands in the early Middle Ages'. Argues that the Arabian dirhems of the ninth-tenth centuries were brought primarily by Swedish merchants in exchange for foodstuffs, and that a considerable part of the west European coins of the second half of the tenth and the eleventh century were likewise brought by Swedes in trade.
- \*Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and continental coins, English and Scottish hammered silver coins; day of sale Wednesday, 14 March 1973 . . . [B. A. SEABY LTD. for] GLENDINING & CO. [2], 34 pp., 9 pls. Includes (pp. 5-17, pls. I-VI) a hoard of late Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and continental silver pennies, believed to have been found in Poland.
- Nogle danske (?) efterligninger af irsk-nordiske penninge. MICHAEL DOLLEY. In *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, no. 3, Mar. 1973, pp. 93-9, illus. 'Some Danish (?) imitations of Hiberno-Norse pennies'.
- Medieval and European coins [*sic*]. NICOLAS DU QUESNE BIRD. In *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 90, 1971, pp. 136-40. Coins found in the Bristol area; cf. \*Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, 78 (5), May 1970, pp. 196-8.
- \*Der Münzfund von Peine 1966, vergraben nach 1633. WILHELM JESSE. In *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, 7 (22/23), 1968/9 (published 1972 [i.e. 1973]), pp. 563-73, pl. 24. The largest part of the Peine (Lower Saxony) find 1966 (1534-1633) consisted of English coins: 12 shillings and 23 sixpences of Elizabeth, 5 shillings and a sixpence of James I.
- \*Catalogue of treasure recovered off the Shetland Isles, comprising gold and silver coins and important artifacts from the wrecks of the 'Wendela', Danish Asiatic Company (lost 1737), the 'Lastdrager', Dutch East India Company (lost 1653), the 'Curaçao', Admiralty of Amsterdam (lost 1729), [and] the 'Evstafii', Imperial Russian Navy (lost 1780); together with a small group of items recovered from H.M.S. 'Assurance' (lost 1753) . . . 8th November 1973. SOTHEBY & Co. [35] pp., [10] pls.
- \*The 1780 restrike talers of Maria Theresia. M. R. BROOME. In *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, xii, 1972, pp. 221-45, pls. 20-3, illus. 'British strikings', pp. 237-9.
- England, Great Britain, British Isles (in general)*
- \*Great Britain and Ireland: [preface]. In *A Survey of Numismatic research 1966-1971, II* . . . 1973, p. 136.
- \*Great Britain and Ireland: general. R. H. THOMPSON. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-48.
- \*English coinage, 600-1900. C. H. V. SUTHERLAND. London: Batsford, 1973. £10.00. viii, 232 pp., 108 pls. Illustrations of coins to 1971.
- Algunos cambios en el sistema monetario inglés; discurso de ingreso como Académico de Número, escrito por el Sr. Don JOHN E. HALLIDAY. In *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de Estudios Numismáticos*, 2 (7), Julio a Septiembre de 1972, pp. 101-28, illus. Contestación del Académico de Número Sr. Don MIGUEL L. MUÑOZ, *ibid.*, pp. 129-54.
- \*Sylloge of coins of the British Isles, 20: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman coins in the collection formed by Commander R. P. Mack, R.N., by R. P. MACK. London: Oxford



University Press and Spink for the British Academy, 1973. £10.00. xxii, 124 pp., 56 pls.

- \*The Bath mint: an historical outline. L. V. GRINSELL; with a section on the moneyers' names by Mrs. V. J. SMART. London: Spink, 1973. 90p. 48 pp., 4 pls. Published 'to coincide with the [millennium of the] coronation in Bath of Eadgar'—publisher's notice.

#### Anglo-Saxon

- \*Anglo-Saxon and Hiberno-Norse. C. E. BLUNT. In *A Survey of numismatic research 1966-1971*, II . . . 1973, pp. 149-65.

The Location of the pre-Ælfredian mint(s) of Wessex. MICHAEL DOLLEY. In *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 27, 1970 (published 1972), pp. 57-61.

- \*Anglo-Saxon England, 2, edited by PETER CLEMOES . . . [and others]. Cambridge: University Press, 1973. £6.50. x, 333 pp., 4 pls. Includes Michael Dolley, 'Some Irish evidence for the date of the *Crux* coins of Æthelred II', pp. 145-54, with a rejoinder to arguments against distinct First and Second Hand issues.

#### England (1066-1707)

- \*England and Ireland, 1066-1278. J. D. BRAND. In *A Survey of numismatic research 1966-1971*, II . . . 1973, pp. 166-75.

- \*England and Ireland, 1279-1500. MARION M. ARCHIBALD. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-89.

- \*Stefanus R. B. H. I. H. STEWART. In *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, xii, 1972, pp. 167-75, pl. 16.

- \*A second find of English sterlings from Ribe (1958), by B. H. I. H. STEWART and J. D. BRAND. In *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift = Scandinavian Numismatic Journal*, 1971, pp. 38-59, illus. The coins found at Ribe (Jutland) in 1958, like those found in 1911 (summarised in an appendix), included Short Cross pennies up to class VIII, also sterlings of Scotland and Ireland, and continental imitations.

#### Great Britain (1707+)

- [Lochgelly, Fife]. In *Discovery and excavation in Scotland*, 1971, p. 22. The find ranged from Charles II to George II, and included French and Portuguese.

- Victorian die numbers, by MICHAEL MAPLETON. In *Coin Year Book*, compiled by the staff of

'Coin Monthly', 1974, pp. 79-83. Lists of die numbers recorded on silver and gold.

- \*The Decimalisation of Britain's currency, by N. E. A. MOORE. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1973. £1.90. xi, 277 pp., [16] pls. At head of title: H.M. Treasury.

#### Scotland

- \*Scotland. B. H. I. H. STEWART. In *A Survey of numismatic research 1966-1971*, II . . . 1973, pp. 190-2.

Un Esterlin d'Écosse à la croix longue trouvé à Trilport (S.-et-M.). GUY BENEUT. In *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, 27 (7), July 1972, pp. 274-5, illus.

- \*The Billon coinages of James VI of Scotland, J. K. R. MURRAY. In *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, xii, 1972, pp. 177-82, illus.

#### Ireland

- \*The Forms of the proper names appearing on the earliest coins struck in Ireland. MICHAEL DOLLEY. In *Otium et negotium* . . . 1973, pp. 49-65.

The Excavation of two tumuli at Fourknocks (sites II and III), Co. Meath. P. J. HARTNETT; appendix by WILLIAM O'SULLIVAN. In *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, section C, 71 (3), 1971, pp. 35-89. Included a hoard of 27 Hiberno-Norse and 2 Æthelred II pennies and a silver ingot.

The pattern of Elizabethan coin-hoards from Ireland. MICHAEL DOLLEY. In *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 33, 1970, pp. 77-88.

- \*A Neglected Scillonian circulation of Wood's halfpence. MICHAEL DOLLEY. In *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, xii, 1972, pp. 217-19.

Some preliminary observations on the pennies Irish of 1822 and 1823, by MICHAEL DOLLEY; photographs by W. A. Seaby. In *Irish Numismatics*, no. 36, Nov./Dec. 1973, pp. 253-64, illus.

- \*W. B. Yeats and the designing of Ireland's coinage: texts by W. B. YEATS and others; edited with an introduction by BRIAN CLEEVE. Dublin: Dolmen Press, 1972. £1.25. 76 pp., illus. (New Yeats papers, III). Contents: extracts from *The Coinage of Saorstát Éireann*, 1928; Brian Cleeve, 'The Yeats coinage', pp. 5-8, and

'Afterword', pp. 68-75; Thomas Bodkin, 'The Irish coinage designers: a lecture delivered at the Metropolitan School of Art, Dublin, 30th November 1928', pp. 40-54; Arthur E. J. Went, 'The coinage of Ireland, 1000 A.D. to the present day', pp. 61-7.

*British Commonwealth and Empire*

\*Oriental numismatics. HELEN W. MITCHELL BROWN. In *A Survey of numismatic research 1966-1971, II* . . . 1973, pp. 315-46. Includes modern coinages of Africa and India.

\*Canada. ROBERT WILLEY. *Ibid.*, III . . . 1973, pp. 17-27.

Coinage of the Americas, edited by THEODORE V. BUTTREY, Jr. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1973. \$8.50. 139 pp., 256 illus., map. Intended to complement the exhibition prepared on the occasion of the International Numismatic Congress. Includes 'The British tradition', pp. 77-100.

1822 sixteenth-dollar 'anchor money' of the British colonies. VAL DE CARLO. In *Numismatics International (Dallas)*, Mar. 1972, pp. 6-17, illus. Lists varieties.

\*1909 paten [i.e. pattern] florin. PETER MACDONALD. In *Australian Numismatic Journal*, 22, 1971 (published 1973), pp. 3-4, illus. The discovery of a pattern, obv. uncrowned bust of Edward VII, rev. map of Australia.

*Tokens*

Token coinage and the administration of poor relief during the Late Middle Ages. WILLIAM J. COURTENAY. In *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 3, 1972-3, pp. 275-95.

Some trade tokens of horological interest, by SIMON BENDALL. In *Antiquarian Horology*, 8 (3), June 1973, pp. 292-8, illus.

*Paper money*

Belfast Bank (Ewing & Co.), 1787-1797. [DEREK YOUNG and] BARRY WILLIAMSON. In *Irish Numismatics*, no. 36, Nov./Dec. 1973, pp. 239-40, illus. (The private banks and their notes.)

\*Gemensamma motiv på svenska och utländska sedlar, av ERNST NATHORST-BÖÖS. In *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift = Scandinavian Numismatic Journal*, 1971, pp. 149-71, illus. Motifs common to Swedish and foreign banknotes, all printed by Messrs. Bradbury, Wilkinson & Co.

\*The Mill notes of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company Limited. G. W. TOMLINSON. In *Australian Numismatic Journal*, 23, 1972 (published 1973), pp. 11-13, illus.

*Medals, badges*

\*Canada. ROBERT C. WILLEY. In *A Survey of numismatic research 1966-1971, III* . . . 1973, pp. 331-9. Publications since 1869.

\*Medals commemorating battles of the American Revolution, by VLADIMIR and ELVIRA CLAIN-STEFANELLI. Washington (Smithsonian Institution): National Museum of History and Technology, 1973. [2], 44 pp., illus. 'Dedicated to the first American International Numismatic Congress'.

\*The works asterisked have been added to the library by donation, exchange, or purchase. Also acknowledged with gratitude are those donations which would have been out of place in this list. Other publications noticed are contributions to periodicals and other collections, but exclude, in addition to this *Journal*, *Coins*, *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, and *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1973

## PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

- 1903-8 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.  
1909 W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.  
1910-14 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.  
1915-19 LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.  
1920-1 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.  
1922 J. SANFORD SALTUS—till 22 June  
1922 GRANT R. FRANCIS—from 28 June  
1923-5 GRANT R. FRANCIS  
1926-7 MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.  
1928 MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—till 20 February  
1928 LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.—from 22 February  
1929-32 LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.  
1933-7 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.  
1938-45 H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.  
1946-50 CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.  
1951-4 EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY  
1955-8 HORACE H. KING, M.A.  
1959-63 DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.  
1964-5 C. WILSON PECK, F.P.S., F.S.A.  
1966-70 C. S. S. LYON, M.A., F.I.A.  
1971- STUART E. RIGOLD, M.A., F.S.A.

## THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially 'to the member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the members as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science'.

The medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910.

## MEDALLISTS

- 1910 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.  
1911 MISS HELEN FARQUHAR  
1914 W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.  
1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.  
1920 LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.

- 1923 H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
- 1926 GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
- 1929 J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
- 1932 CHARLES WINTER
- 1935 RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON
- 1938 WILLIAM C. WELLS
- 1941 CUTHBERT A. WHITTON
- 1944 Not awarded
- 1947 R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.
- 1950 CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
- 1953 DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.
- 1956 F. ELMORE JONES
- 1959 R. H. M. DOLLEY, B.A., F.S.A.
- 1962 HORACE H. KING, M.A.
- 1965 H. SCHNEIDER
- 1968 EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY  
C. WILSON PECK, F.P.S., F.S.A. (Posthumous Award)
- 1971 B. H. I. H. STEWART, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A., Scot.

(For Officers and Council for 1973 see vol. XVI, p. 200)

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 23 January, Mr. Rigold, President, in the chair, Mr. N. J. Mayhew, Mr. C. Southern, Dr. Ian Taylor, and The Royal Tunbridge Wells and District Numismatic Society were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. J. P. C. Furness was elected to Junior Membership. Mr. Dyer read a paper on the Proposed Coinage of King Edward VIII.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 27 February, Mr. Rigold, President, in the chair, Mr. William Prentice was elected to Junior Membership. Dr. Challis read a paper entitled 'The Debasement of the Coinage in Tudor England'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 27 March, Mr. Rigold, President, in the chair, the President announced the death of our Treasurer, Mr. Clifford Allen, and Members were asked to rise as a tribute to him. The President also announced the issue of a special volume of the *British Numismatic Journal* to mark Mr. Blunt's 70th birthday in July 1974. Mrs. Margaret Amstell, Mr. John R. Andrew, Mr. William H. Foster, Mr. Richard Mark Lubbock, and Mr. Stephen Mitchell were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mrs. Amstell and Mr. Lubbock were formally admitted to membership. Mr. Linecar read a paper entitled 'Modern Coins of Britain and the Commonwealth'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 24 April, Mr. Rigold, President, in the chair, Mr. D. N. Young was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Brand read a paper on eighteenth-century Tokens.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 22 May, Mr. Rigold, President, in the chair, Mr. Brian J. Davidson and Mr. Peter C. Naylor were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Blunt read a paper entitled 'Reminiscences of Some Distinguished Numismatists of an Earlier Generation'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 26 June, Mr. Blunt, Vice-President, in the chair, the chairman announced that Council had decided with regret to recommend an increase in the annual subscription from £4.20 to £6 for Ordinary Members, and from £1.50 to £2.50 for Junior Members. A resolution to that effect would be put to Members at the Anniversary Meeting. Mr. H. L. Gilbert, Mrs. M. B. Gilbert, and Miss J. E. Goldhawk were elected to Ordinary Membership. Dr. Metcalf read a paper entitled 'Die-links in the Coinage of King Henry VII'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 25 September, Mr. Rigold, President, in the chair, the President announced the death of the last of our Royal Members, King Gustav VI of Sweden. Mr. Elmore Jones and Mr. H. A. Seaby were elected to Honorary Membership. Mr. J. Bascombe, Mr. M. Gouby, and Mr. J. Reynolds were elected to Ordinary Membership. In the absence of Mr. Dolley, the Director read on his behalf, and that of Mr. Moore, a paper entitled 'Some Reflections on the English Coinage of Sihtric Caech, King of Dublin and of York'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 23 October, Mr. Rigold, President, in the chair, Mr. James North Allen, Mrs. Ann Butterworth, Mr. Patrick Deane, Mr. Ian P. Ellis, Mr. F. Mason, Mr. John Richmond, Dr. Henry B. Smith, and Mr. M. Young were elected to Ordinary Membership. A paper on the 1971 Lincoln Hoard by Miss Archibald and Mr. Elmore Jones was read by Miss Archibald.

At the Anniversary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 17 November, Mr. Rigold, President, in the chair, Mr. Jeremiah D. Brady and Mr. Michael Joseph Freeman were elected to Ordinary Membership.

The following Officers and Council were elected for 1974.

*President:* S. E. Rigold, M.A., F.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents:* D. F. Allen, C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.; C. E. Blunt, O.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.; G. V. Doubleday; H. H. King, M.A.; H. Schneider; E. J. Winstanley, L.D.S.

*Director:* B. H. I. H. Stewart, R.D., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A., Scot.

*Treasurer:* R. J. Seaman, F.I.B.

*Secretary:* W. Slayter.

*Librarian:* R. H. Thompson, A.L.A.

*Council:* Miss M. M. Archibald, M.A.; J. Brand, F.C.A.; J. Chown; Mrs. M. Delmé-Radcliffe; R. N. P. Hawkins; J. Lavertine, M.D.; Major C. W. Lister, R.A.; C. S. S. Lyon, M.A., F.S.A., F.I.A.; P. J. Morley; H. Pagan, M.A.; J. Porteous, M.A.; T. J. Robertson; D. L. F. Sealy, B.Sc.; J. Weibel; P. Woodhead.

In the ballot for the rule regarding the annual subscription, the votes in favour of the change were more than the 80 per cent majority required by the Society's rules. The President therefore declared that the rule was changed, and the subscription raised.

Mr. Rigold delivered his Presidential Address.

## EXHIBITIONS

### *March*

By Mr. Linecar

A number of Commonwealth Crowns, and sets of Commonwealth coins, in illustration of his paper.



*April*

By Mr. Brand

Eighteenth-century tokens, in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. R. H. Thompson

Eighteenth-century tokens.

1. Anglesey: Parys (Parrys) Mine Company, penny 1788. D. & H 130, described as extremely rare, illustrating what was probably a poorer specimen.

2. Anglesey: Parys Mine Company, halfpenny 1788. The dies of D & H 278, but unpublished edge reading PAYABLE IN ANGLESEY LONDON OR LIVERPOOL . X .

Both of these were acquired in South Wales.

3-4. Thomas Spence 'farthing' token (D & H Middlesex 1081, Thompson FO1/R2), with the reverse well struck up, on a flan too large for it, the obverse expanded with the flan, its relief low, its field uneven, its letters shadowed (4, the usual obverse for comparison); presumably a coin that had created obverse brockages, the reverse being fixed in the die.

By Mr. Peter Morley

An eighteenth-century 'mule' halfpenny. Buckinghamshire, Dalton & Hamer 10. Ex Davis and Longman Collections. Die-axis →. The Shepherd die in the 'late stage'.

*May*

By Mr. Blunt

Three forgeries of coins of Henry IV and Henry VII, made by the late J. S. Shirley-Fox.

*September*

By Messrs. Spink

A penny of King Offa, Blunt phase II, 787-92, moneyer Alhmund, together with an off-print of a Luton newspaper, announcing the discovery of the coin.

*October*

By Mr. Pagan

An engraving of an Edward the Confessor penny, Pacx type, Lincoln mint, moneyer Ulf. A copy of this engraving among Banks MSS. in the Royal Mint has the caption 'Found in the River Witham 1787. Engraved for Mr. Southgate 1789'. The coin may be identified as *BMC* 698.

*November*

By Mr. Sealy

An Irish penny token, issued by William Hodgkins, Banker, CloghJordan, in 1858. Formerly attributed to the Australasian series.

ADDRESS BY STUART EBORALL RIGOLD,  
M.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.A.

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

*Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 17 November 1973*

REVIEW OF THE YEAR

THIS Society, born of schism, moved partly by self-regarding patriotism of seventy years ago, has outlived all the rancour and contentiousness of those days, yet preserves the tradition of our founding fathers—and mothers—such as W. J. Andrew or Helen Farquhar, of combining coins with humane and documentary studies, a tradition that lives in the work of Mr. Blunt, without mentioning our younger, but scholastically very mature, members. The Society, it is clear, does not need artificial respiration, but it does need sustenance, and for this reason I am putting it to you, on behalf of Council, that we raise the nominal value of the subscription. I need not remind this audience that £6 in 1973 bears only a remote historical relationship to the subscription of the 1900s and in real terms is a much smaller sum.

I shall come to other 'facts and figures', for which, as ever, I am entirely dependent on our industrious officers and Council, but my first duty is to recall those that we have lost—only two, I believe, but outstanding. Divers strands of civilization consciously joined in Gustaf VI Adolf, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, the last of our Royal Members—perhaps the only one whose contribution to art-history and archaeology was considerable, and the only Westerner to have entered Peking by the Imperial gate, who promoted the most spectacular work of nautical archaeology as a monument to his adoptive Wasa forebears, who expounded before the Académie the enduring constitution of his French ancestor, and who disarmed the professed republicanism of the party dominant for forty years, since they had to admit that the obvious first president of Sweden would be Dr. G. A. Bernadotte.

The other loss is too close to us to call for rhetoric, Clifford Allen, our able treasurer for only three or four years, though it seems much longer. I can only extend once again our sympathy to his wife, who was also his qualified helper in accountancy, for which the Society too is grateful. His loss was sudden and, personally, irreparable, but we are fortunate in that Mr. Robert Seaman was ready and able to step immediately into his place.

The tale of membership, after the resignations and amovals you have just heard, is now 512, of which 14 junior and 138 institutional. The great national archaeological societies weathered the horse-latitudes of the later nineteenth century with barely half that number, publishing massively, but present economics demand little less than 500 and I hope the new subscription will not damage it. Eleven members were able to represent the Society (and our sister society) at the International Numismatic Congress in New York and Washington, and seven of these read papers. There were other papers of British interest, mainly small stuff, but I shall be interested to read that on 'Numismatic

References and Problems in Shakespere'. In connection with the conference a *Survey of Numismatic Research, 1966-71* has been published, with a 'good showing' from our members on Ancient British and medieval themes, and the *Polish Numismatic News* put out a special issue with articles in English, especially on statistical methods. Our Librarian, who supplies these details, hardly misses any bibliographical matter in our field. Besides his routine business, with two rare and ephemeral provincial numismatic periodicals among our new acquisitions, his works of supererogation have included answering queries from Essex to Honolulu. Among new publications we must notice the *Sylloge* of his own collection by our senior member Commander Mack who, if that were not enough, has also produced an outline of *The Bath Mint*, to further that city's laudable and single-handed endeavour to commemorate what officialdom has so stupidly ignored, the millennium, or at least a good symbolic millennium, of the English monarchy itself. Several members have contributed to the Olof von Feilitzen Festschrift, *Otium et Negotium*. Among new works on tokens, Dr. Boon has published two excellent corpora, on seventeenth-century, and on later, Welsh tokens on behalf of the National Museum of Wales, and Mr. and Mrs. Judson have relisted those of Essex. There have been some reprints of colonial works and also of Snelling's *A View of the Coins at this Time Current throughout Europe* (1766). The most, literally, conspicuous new issue has been Dr. Sutherland's *English coinage, 600-1900*, odd, perhaps, in its allocation of space to various periods, but fully cognisant of recent research and splendidly, even lavishly, illustrated.

Of our own programme I think we can congratulate our Director on its 'balance'. We have had the description of one great hoard of last year—Lincoln, and several of us are painstakingly filling in the details of old hoards from scattered records. 1972-3, I mean the more or less academic year we observe in reporting hoards, has not produced a bumper harvest. No ancient British, to my knowledge. Those pestilential metal-detectors are responsible for a base-radiate hoard in a bronze bucket, from Beachy Head, as well as for the continued wrecking of a number of important sites, especially ritual ones, for coins, while their detection and the enforcement of legal sanctions against them remains difficult. The following provisional list, from November to November, is based on information kindly supplied by Miss Archibald, supplemented by notices collected by our Librarian. Only Little Wymondley sounds specially remarkable.

1. Beachy Head, Sussex, Bullock Down: 5,546 base radiates in bronze bucket.
2. Market Warsop, Nottinghamshire: 341 Constantinian.
3. Dilton Marsh, Wiltshire, Chalcot House: c. 2,500 later Roman, in two cooking-pots.
4. Hollinshead, Lancashire: 51 and 8 cut halves, short-cross, English and Scottish.
5. Midridge, Durham: c. 2,900 Edwardian and Scottish sterling.
6. Meopham, Kent: 3 Edward III nobles, in garden.
7. Crockerton, Wiltshire: 35 Hen. VII (9 groats, 11 halfgroats, 15 pence) in purse in garden.
8. Little Wymondley, Hertfordshire: 646 Hen. VI—Ed. VI (groats, halfgroats, pence), under house.
9. Springfield (Ballindrum), Co. Antrim: 39 Mary I—Eliz. I (shillings, sixpences, groats).

10. Denton, Norfolk, Pear Tree Farm: 6 (5 Eliz. I sixpences, 1 Jas. I shilling) in ceiling.
11. Acton, Suffolk: 81 Phil. and Mary-Chas. II (halfcrowns, shillings) in garden.
12. Ide Hill, Kent: 104 Vict.-Ed. VII, sovereigns and half-sovereigns, in jar.

## COINAGE AND THE MYTH OF THE RENAISSANCE

When I use the word 'myth' I am not suggesting that the phenomena we associate with the word 'Renaissance' are imaginary or insignificant. It is the syntheses and constructions, made of them and upon them, that are 'mythical'—factitious yet spiritually fertile, and hampered by the assumption that they add up to one renaissance, *The Renaissance*, usually introduced by the equally fugitive, originally astrological, word 'influence', which implies some causal connection beyond analysis. Every man builds his own Renaissance out of the data to hand and you may object that I am simply offering you mine. No, my intentions are purely destructive, to show up the inconsistencies and paradoxes in other people's.

One inconsistency goes beyond personal interpretation to the very order of definition—a bounded historical period versus an eternal idea. For some historians *The Renaissance* ends with the sack of Rome in 1527 or that of Florence in 1530, and Burckhart, the prophet of Renaissance studies, went little further. For others, and particularly for the artists that worked within the atmosphere of the myth, down to the eighteenth century and beyond, it is typified by those more or less interchangeable names for it, all beginning 'Re-', rebirth, revival, renewal. There can be neo-Gothic and to those outside the myth, neo-Classic, but there cannot logically be neo-Renaissance. It is 'neo' by definition, never ceases from renewing itself on its original terms. However various their works may look to posterity, these artists claim to be the full heirs and exponents of *The Renaissance*.

What, you will ask, has this to do with coins, and, in particular, with coins of northern Europe? Once Renaissance elements enter a coinage, after c. 1530, there is change but usually no turning back. Any exceptions that I shall notice are all the more significant. Before the 1530s, however, the appearance of such elements deserves different treatment from those when the idiom has become accepted and the myth articulate. It may be deceptive to look teleologically or retrospectively, from the point of view of 1560 as much as 1860, at northern coins struck during the springtide of the Italian Renaissance. There are novelties indeed, but their connections with any interpretation of the Renaissance must be examined each one on its own terms. The 'standard text-books' often talk as though there were already a *Gesamtstil*, recognizable at sight. To Oman the early issues of Henry VII are medieval, the latest 'pure Renaissance'. Craig heads his chapter on the Tudor kings 'Renaissance and Debasement' (an interesting conjunction, to which I shall return) and calls Henry VII 'patron of the new art of the Renaissance' for introducing that most Gothic of coins, the sovereign. Dr. Sutherland, more circumspectly, as befits one who has discussed fifteenth-century medals, calls the corresponding chapter in his latest book 'Innovation and Debasement' and stresses the virtues of the profile portrait, which is fairly characterized as 'Italian'. Yet still we have Renaissance *influences* under the same king, in 'art-forms and learning'; the 'frozen conventions' are characterized as medieval, the realistic portrait *as such* (not simply the profile) as diagnostic of the Renaissance.

I hope I am not guilty of over-conflation if I see in these and many similar citations a set of assumptions, all but one of which are quite defensible, but none of which is self-evident:

- (a) The Renaissance is both a 'movement' without *termini* and a circumscribed period, excluding the Middle Ages. It is not something that happened *in* the Middle Ages, nor, contrary to what Vasari implied, is high or even late Gothic art part of the Renaissance.
- (b) Yet, while medieval coinage is branded, with justice in some periods, as barren and unoriginal, a really good Gothic piece may be accorded an honorary place in the Renaissance.
- (c) Renaissance art and learning are concomitant and both received their ultimate impetus from Italy: or, to put it more usefully, what can be traced to Italy can be claimed for the Renaissance.
- (d) Naturalism and rationalism march together.

Only the last of these theses, in my view, is quite untenable. The quintessentially 'Renaissance' art of the Quattrocento was concerned with ideals and the mathematics of perspective. Northern art of the time, whether counted in the Renaissance or out, was objective, realistic, but un-rationalizing. The thesis simply ignores the second great question of definition: whether or not, or at what stage, should this vigorous creativity be classed, as by the custom of the Victoria and Albert Museum, with 'Northern Renaissance', be it entirely Gothic in detail; or whether some of it should be included on the score of superficial classicisms. We are not just concerned with the passing assumptions of numismatists; such matters are clothed by professional art-historians in rhetoric worthy of Hermogenes or Leonardo Bruni. While Puyvelde was anxious to take that most Italianate of northern painters, Mabuse, out of the Renaissance and to claim him for the North, O. Benesch upbraided the subjects of the only less Italianate Matsys for dwelling 'in the *gloom of sombre* old houses in the *shadow of Gothic* . . .' and treated his *Northern Renaissance* in terms of War in Heaven: Italy, rational, enlightened, clean, versus the obscurantist, superstitious and dirty North. This for the land of Erasmus and Calvin, that for the mumbo-jumbo of Platonic mysteries! In the face of such prejudice we must see which side the Angels are on, and look at that most diagnostic of Henry VII's new designs, which is neither the sovereign nor the testoon, but the reformed angel, in which alone it might be argued that Alexander of Brugsaal had a creative part.

The previous angel, the only original English, 'Perpendicular' coin type, was vigorous and well organized, if ruggedly executed. The new one is lazier and sleeker, in the tradition of French court art since Jean Fouquet. It is only Italian in a few details and a vestigial Giottesque solidity. I think its model must have been a larger image, now lost. We have seen some remains of this courtly manner in the Richard III exhibition. Call it 'Franco-Flemish' if you wish: it has moved some way from Flemish burgher art when it gains English patrons in the 1470s, and by the 1490s, when it is reflected not only in the coinage but in such things as the Fairford glass, it reaches its apogee in the princely retable of Moulins. Despite its Italian elements, it is schooled in something earthier than the levitated mathematics of Piero della Francesca. Those who accept the extreme Italian version of the myth might ignore it as barbarous; others might call it 'pure' Renaissance. It is neither: it is one of several grand alternatives.



I suggest that we take these strands in the myth about which there is least dispute, in the order in which they become articulate and thus, at least from that moment, historically attested, and test them for their numismatic import.

First, the idea of revival, originally in language and literature only. But this included calligraphy and epigraphy, and, as I shall show, lettering is the soundest test of 'Renaissance' intention on coins.

Second, and a little later, the *rinascimento del' antichità* in art and architecture. No new thing, this was a recurrent preoccupation of the Middle Ages, but the Italian quattrocento thought it was doing it better, and so too did later centuries. Experiment counted as much as imitation and what was Italian was thought to be either in the antique mode or 'as good as'. Since in coin-design there was experiment but hardly any antiquarianism, and relatively little in medals too, we must accept anything Italianate as 'Renaissance', but not everything within the no less controversial term 'Mannerist'.

Thirdly, the much-vaunted cult of personality and the concept that Burckhardt calls 'the State as a work of art', both implying the legitimacy of self-advertisement on coins or elsewhere, and, in particular, of portraiture. However, for most princes the orthodox restraints remained: even in Italy the effect is limited before the 'Mannerist age'; elsewhere it is conspicuously rare and in *Sondergotik* dress more often than in Italian.

Finally, the flowering of art, as seen by Vasari from his Mannerist perch. Thinking only of Italy and only of painting, he takes his story back to Cimabue and Giotto in the thirteenth century. Students of sculpture took it back to Niccolò Pisano, and had they thought it possible that the Reims Visitation could out-classicize him, they would have included that too. In any case Vasari, explicitly or implicitly, includes the whole of Italian late Gothic painting and its 'International', courtly relations. Pisanello, the pioneer of medallic art, was basically one of its exponents, with a strong strain of northern realism, and very little of Rome. The same test that gives him his place in the Renaissance would also admit the Henry VII sovereign, save that it, and the 'grand Ryal' type in general, is old-fashioned, hieratic, and probably deliberately so. It is, as we shall see, perhaps the most enduring of those late, innovatory types, which seem to protest the dignity of Gothic against the vulgarity of humanism, and are to be distinguished from the coinages which remain conservative, and in a certain sense 'medieval' as a token of their stability. In fact, the overwhelming majority of coin-types until the seventeenth century—in Spain and Portugal until the eighteenth—remain heraldic or non-figurative and admit little room for the Renaissance except in their lettering. In such designs the transition from Gothic to Classic is a matter of detail and for Vasari, too, it is a matter of fashion, not a major factor in the progress of art.

I suggest, then, too that we ignore the odd arabesque and terminal as a sign of the Renaissance, much as we would on a prefabricated panel in a Gothic building, and examine four elements only in coin-design—lettering, heraldry, portraiture, and figure-work. These should show either when design, of whatever idiom, replaces immobilized habit on coins, or when the designers consciously enrol in the battalions of humanism. Of these, lettering is the most widely applicable test: Lombardic was almost universal on medieval coins, even when superseded on other objects, and lent itself admirably to punched dies; the change to Roman was at some cost and usually abrupt, though novel but unclassical 'intermediate' alphabets appear occasionally, outside Britain. Heraldry, of course, is of medieval origin, but was not thought obsolescent in the sixteenth

century. Renaissance or Italianizing heraldry is therefore a genuine concept, expressed not in the content of the blazon but in the shape of the shield or the disposition of the achievement. *Stampe*, those personal, but non-heraldic, symbolic compositions, such as the tortoise on palm-tree of Mary and Darnley, stem entirely from Renaissance Italy. Of portraiture and of figural designs, larger than busts, on obverse or reverse, it is enough to stress their relative rarity and the need to test each design not only by Italian standards but by those of other styles, whether or not we assign them to the 'Northern Renaissance'. There is a vulgar belief that English and Scottish coins are backward and unreceptive of Renaissance motifs when compared with what is lumped together as 'continental Europe', supposedly basking in the Renaissance for decades before and decades after a fleeting enlightenment under Henry VII. But Italy is one thing, this side the Alps is another and, between c. 1480 and c. 1510, is generally as conservative as Britain, with no greater share of innovations, and these not necessarily Italianizing. I cannot notice them all here, for the next generation is the really critical period, by the end of which it is fair to say that a Renaissance idiom is universally accepted, while England alone stands briefly aloof and even tries to 'put the clock back'. In the next generation there is an even more determined reaction. To show this I will apply my four tests in turn but the first should be enough to prove the case.

*Lettering.* Generally the issue is simply Roman versus Lombardic, but I must also distinguish, not only the 'intermediate' alphabets of *Sondergotik* origin, generally characterised by a double-bowed E (E), but the 'compromised Roman' alphabet, with a flat-topped A. The larger coins may use the Roman or 'intermediate' (as on the thalers of Kursachsen) relatively early; so may 'humanistic' types, as most French testoons from c. 1514. Gold may run ahead of silver, as at Nürnberg, which changes letter c. 1517 and c. 1527 respectively. But the object of the test is to find the final abandonment of Lombardic on any denomination. In much of Italy it was c. 1460: on the Roman *ducata* under Pius II (1458-64). On the papal coins of Avignon it was not till Sixtus IV (1471-84), which matches the French royal mints near Italy, such as Aix, before 1483. The other French mints behaved differently, each a law to itself: according to Blanchet and Dieudonné the process was hardly complete by 1550; even at Paris the *Blanc au Salamandre* used Lombardic in 1540. Besançon changed in 1537, Nancy soon after 1544, but on other French marches it was earlier—in Navarre just before 1516 and at Lausanne just after 1517. In fact, many mints, over a wide area that extended as far as Görlitz in Lusatia, changed about 1516, including the Ducal mints in the Low Countries. Yet, Charles of Egmont's great series of *Snaphaans* apparently used Lombardic to 1538, Louvain to c. 1539, the bishopric of Utrecht until it was taken over in 1528, Liège until Cornelius of Berg (1538-44) and Münster until 1539, which is not untypical of north Germany. In Sweden the low values change in 1534, using 'compromised' lettering at first, in Denmark and Norway between 1535 and 1537. In Castille the change is associated with a convention in 1537, in confirmation of which the dies sent to Mexico for the first issue in the New World (1536-8) are Lombardic, those for the second (1539-40) Roman. To summarize, many mints abandon Lombardic c. 1516, and nearly all the remainder in 1537  $\pm$  3 years.

Beside these Scotland is right up to date. The last coinage of James IV used 'compromised' Roman and though there is some reversion to Lombardic and 'mixing of founts' under James V, the change is finalized in 1539. England is the 'odd one out'.

A slightly irregular Roman alphabet is found, generally 'mixed', on the earliest coins of the 1526 issue and promptly abandoned. No more is seen of Roman until just before the death of Henry VIII, but it is universal on the base issues of 1546–51, to be followed by the most obvious and deliberate return to Lombardic, which lasts into Mary's reign. The final change comes over with Philip in 1554 and is respected by Elizabeth except on the frankly archaic ryals. Contrary to what we hear, there was no 'progressive tendency to substitute Roman for Lombardic': there was revolution and blind reaction. Out with Somerset, the intellectual with his dreadful, classical palace, who even makes the Reformation speak a foreign tongue! Lay inflation and such knavish tricks at his door! Good old Sterling means good old lettering and everything else in memory of the Good Old Times.

*Heraldry* says the same. The round-bottomed shield, a typically 'Franco-Flemish' or 'Northern Renaissance' form replaced the ogival, 'heater-shaped' shield on the redesigned angel. It was used on the profile type and throughout the reign of Henry VIII. It is found on continental coins with both late Gothic and classical detail, but is quite distinct from the Italian shapes and the complex *Sondergotik* and northern Mannerist shapes found in Germany. Then, in 1549, on both gold and base silver, appeared a cartouche-shield with voluted strapwork, more Italian than anything yet seen on a northern coin. In 1551 it was duly replaced by plain, safe, round-bottoms. That was not the end of the voluted cartouche: it came back, in more delicate form on that most cosmopolitan, Italianate, even Tridentine, of coinages, the silver of Philip and Mary, with lettering and portraiture to match, and once more under Charles I, as though a symbol of 'creeping Popery'. In the interval the 'Queen's middle way' leads in something subtle and distinct from either, ogee-tipped, sometimes ornate but not Italian—northern Mannerist, with a touch of Gothic romance, like the *Faerie Queene*.

*Portraiture* is a formidable subject. Understand first that to question whether portraiture was ever attempted on a strictly late-medieval coin is not to say there was no portraiture then in any medium. There was unquestionably portrait-sculpture, even if the works of van Eyck and his kind are given entirely to the 'Northern Renaissance', and only if they are so given can the first clear case of portraiture on coins outside Italy in this age be called other than medieval. The 1485 groats of James III demonstrably bear a stamped version of a Flemish-type three-quarter panel-portrait, of which copies exist, and may be compared with the early engraving of the portrait of Edward IV (crown again replacing hat). It has no connection whatever with antiquity, nor with Pisanello. In its time it is unique, but is a forerunner of many transcriptions of full-face or three-quarter portraits into coin-dies in the Mannerist age and later.

The profile-portrait of Henry VII is nearly as remarkable. By this time there have been several such issues outside Italy, but not many—those of the *Reyes Catolicos* and more or less *Sondergotik* ones, beginning with Sigismund of Tirol. Henry's has a finesse more Italic than any, yet its truncation and balance are unusual in Italian medals and reminiscent of the South German school when first fully assimilated to the Italian idiom—the medallists Hagenauer, Gebel, and Hans Schwarz, none of whom was out of his apprenticeship in 1504. One group of medals seems to provide a common source, that associated with Niccolo Spinelli, called Fiorentino (the Florentine working out of Florence), whose tiny signed œuvre Bode expanded into hundreds, with a Frenchman and an Englishman among the subjects. More than one artist surely made these works, which

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

*Balance Sheet as at 31 October 1972*

1971		1971		1971	
£		£	£	£	£
22	Subscriptions Received in Advance		23·81		
120	Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges		140·50	900	£900 7% British Savings Bonds . . . . . 900·00
	J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund			2,000	£2,000 6% British Savings Bonds . . . . . 2,000·00
200	Capital Account . . . . .		200·00		2,900·00
250	Schneider Research Fund . . . . .	250·00			
	Less Photographic Record of Doubleday Collection not recovered by Sales . . . . .	83·00		200	J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund
			167·00		£200 7% British Savings Bonds . . . . . 200·00
	Journal Provisions			250	Schneider Research Fund
	1971 . . . . .	2,520·00		—	Cash at Bank . . . . . 116·00
4,350	1972 (Provision towards cost) . . . . .	1,750·00			Stock of Prints . . . . . 51·00
			4,270·00	150	Library at cost, less amounts written off . . . . . 150·00
	General Purposes Fund			10	Furniture at cost . . . . . 10·00
	Balance at 31 October 1971 . . . . .	894·61			Cash at Bankers and in Hand
895	Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year . . . . .	30·89		543	Bank—Current Account . . . . . 521·85
			925·50	1,784	Bank—Deposit Account . . . . . 1,777·96
					2,299·81
<u>£5,837</u>		<u>£5,726·81</u>		<u>£5,837</u>	<u>£5,726·81</u>

## Report of the Auditors to the Members of the British Numismatic Society

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Expenditure and Income Account which are in agreement with the books of account and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Society's affairs as at 31 October 1972 and the Expenditure and Income Account gives a true and fair view of the excess of income over expenditure for the year ended on that date.

108 Cannon Street, London, EC4N 6EY  
27 March 1973

GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON  
Chartered Accountants  
Auditors



*Expenditure and Income Account for the year ended 31 October 1972*

1971

EXPENDITURE			
£		£	£
20	Printing and Stationery . . . . .	25.77	
47	Expenses of Meetings, Rent, and Library facilities . . . . .	33.50	
96	Sundry Expenses . . . . .	145.90	
	Journal Expenses:		
	1970 Journal . . . . .	2,471.46	
	Less Previous provisions . . . . .	2,400.00	
			71.46
	1971 Journal		
	Additional provision for printing and cost of plates less Donation . . . . .	590.00	
	1972 Journal		
	Provision towards cost	1,750.00	
		2,411.46	
2,307	Less British Academy Grant . . . . .	150.00	
			2,261.46
10	Buxton Prize Provision . . . . .	—	
—	Sanford Saltus Medal . . . . .	48.13	
	Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to		
15	General Purposes Fund . . . . .	30.89	
<u>£2,495</u>		<u>£2,545.65</u>	

1971

INCOME			
£		£	£
1,805	Subscriptions received for 1972 . . . . .	1,885.82	
68	Subscriptions in arrears received during year . . . . .	92.44	
28	Entrance Fees . . . . .	30.57	
35	Donations . . . . .	64.72	
248	Interest received . . . . .	257.54	
106	Sale of Publications . . . . .	34.85	
10	Buxton Prize Money . . . . .	—	
195	Income Tax recovered on Covenanted Subscriptions	179.71	
<u>£2,495</u>		<u>£2,545.65</u>	



date from the 1480s and 1490s, beside which the medal of 1494 turns Anne of Brittany into an old-fashioned Florentine beauty and that of Louis XII looks quite Gothic. I suggest that the archetype was a most up-to-date medallic relief, not necessarily of metal, and that it was made in the 1490s.

With one exception, the subsequent portraits to 1554 seem non-medallic and based on paintings; the profile heads, twisted to frontal bodies (Henry VIII, all of James V, and both Marys), are as 'Mannerist' as the full-faced. Those of Henry VIII are fairly bold, those of 1551 and of Mary Tudor over-delicate and shallow. Again the exception is in the beautiful dies of 1549, seen to full advantage on the gold, and, again, a lost archetype suggests itself, 'pure' Renaissance rather than 'Mannerist', but it need no longer be Italian. The downward cast of the face and the emphasis on the shoulders point to the 'Stephen of Holland' group. With the return of such quality under Philip and Mary, the archetype is well known, the artist a migrant Italian.

Of figural designs I can only point to further lines of inquiry. I have spoken of the new angel; later it loses some of the smooth elegance seen in the works of Jan Prevost and David and is interpreted in a clumsy, late-Perpendicular way, e.g. about the hair. The other designs are the sovereign types and the various equestrian ones, both matched on Great Seals and neither ever interpreted in the Italian mode, as distinct from northern Mannerism. There are fruitful comparisons to be made with the no less official 'sovereign' portraits in initials to charters, studied by Miss Auerbach. These are completely Gothic to 1518, splendidly Mannerist from c. 1545, in the interval undecided, but once, in 1526, on the charter to Cardinal College, quite Italianate, suggesting a 'Wolsey' coinage that might have been. The equestrian types range from the well-spaced and utterly Gothic rider of James III, to the assured figure on the crowns of James I and VI and, of course, beyond it. Beside the latter the over-praised crown of 1551 is an ill-drawn thing, Italianate only in its superficial ornament and perhaps its *dressage*, the unissued 'horseman' shilling rather better. In any case, the whole tradition of equestrian coins is medieval and that is why they appear in 1551.

Let us never confuse good metal with good art, nor good, nor bad art with the Renaissance, nor the Renaissance with virtue, nor with vice, as that unprincipled manipulator Northumberland would have had us do. The 'pure' Renaissance appears on English coins only with Somerset and with Philip. They were 'modern' in their different ways and had little thanks for it. The safe and central tradition clings to 'good old' signatures, like an 'Authorised' Bible in black letter, between a 'Geneva' and a 'Douai', both in Roman.

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